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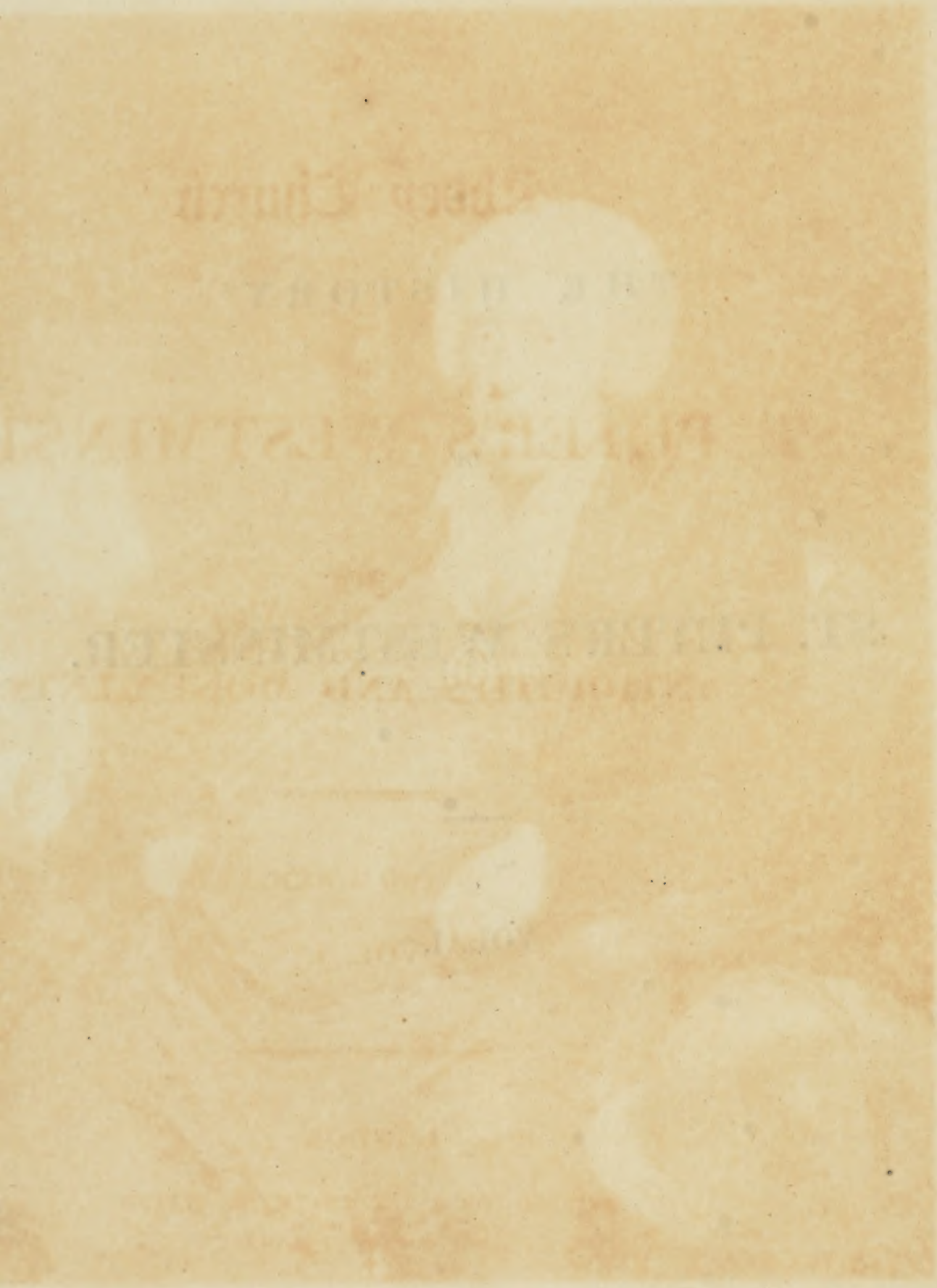
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OF

ST. PETER'S WESTMINSTER.

VOL. I.





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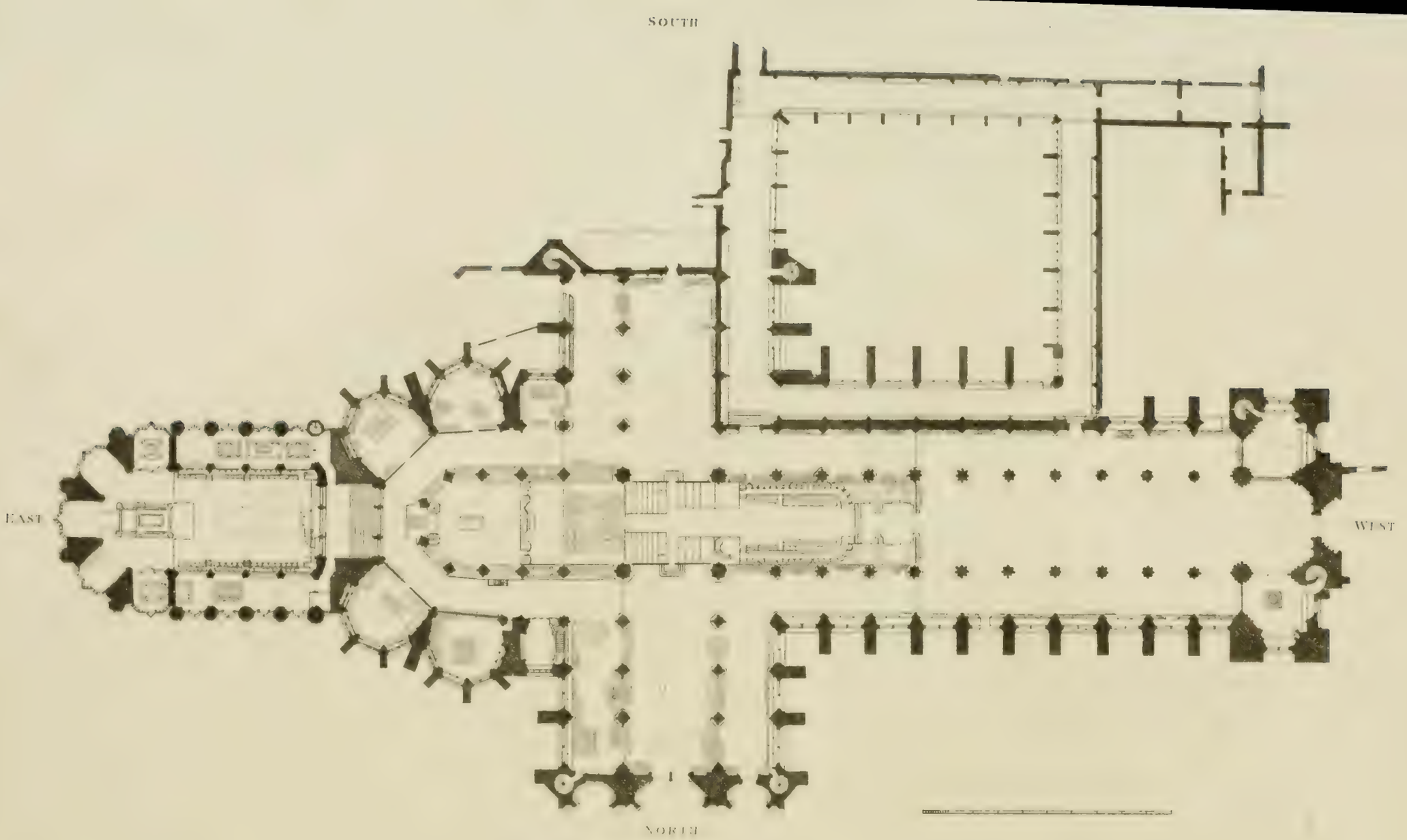
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PLAN OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER may, without fear of contradiction, be considered as one of the most interesting edifices in the British empire. Its remote antiquity, its edificial beauty, the character and variety of its architecture, as well as the ornament it affords to the metropolis, give it a superior distinction. But when the eye is turned from its general form and features, and the mind contemplates all that it contains: when it is regarded as the Mausoleum of our Kings; as the Sepulchre of Princes and Nobles; as guarding the dust of so many men who have, by their courage and virtue, their learning and eloquence, their science and piety, adorned the times in which they lived, and have left examples for imitation to succeeding ages: when it is also considered as the scene of that august, constitutional ceremony which places the crown on the heads, and delivers the sceptre to the hands, of the British Sovereigns; such a combination of characteristic circumstances cannot fail to excite those emotions which are most honourable and improving to the nature of man. Of what materials must his character be composed, who does not feel his best sensibilities awakened, his piety animated, his thoughts digni-

fied, his sense of public duty enlarged, and his moral tendencies strengthened, by reflecting on those objects which this structure presents to his contemplation?

To give a history of this vast and beautiful fabric, this scene of human grandeur, and last repository of glory, in all its parts, and with all its accessory circumstances, from its earliest notices to the present moment, is the object for which this work has been compiled and written.

The first historians of this church, and the character of their respective writings, will be found in the early pages of the first volume. They contain all that is known to have been recorded or conjectured of the more ancient periods of its establishment; with which much of the fablings of superstition, as well as of doubtful tradition, is blended; till the time arrives, when History can speak with confidence, and proceeding in a regular, authentic series of events and circumstances, establishes the credibility of its narration*.

* That this church was no regular monastery, and had no abbot, till the Benedictines were established here by *Edgar* and *Dunstan*, is clearly proved in the History of *Ingulphus*, Abbot of *Croyland*; where it appears, that *Witlaf* was the founder of *Croyland*, in the reign of *Egbert*, who died in the year 837; and the charter granted by that prince is signed by several abbots, but by no abbot of *Westminster*. *Croyland* was afterwards burned by the *Danes*; but restored by *Turketal*, Chancellor to *Athelstan*, and his son *Edmund* or *Edred*. *Turketal* gave a tenth of his possessions to the monastery, con-

In the middle of the last century, *Dart* published his splendid History of this Church, whose typographical beauty, and the number of engravings, gave it a reputation, to which the historical department has little claim: for a work more remarkable for negligence at least, has seldom proceeded from the press. He appears to have possessed all the means of doing justice to his subject; of which, from a want of historical capacity, an incurious and indolent disposition, or a defect of scholarship, he did not, or could not, avail himself. *Widmore*, however, who was librarian of the college, and to whose accurate diligence the following pages are most materially indebted, supplied his deficiencies; enabling the compiler of this History to proceed with confidence, as well as to conclude it with the hope of fulfilling the promises which accompanied its commencement. Nor must the acknowledgment be omitted, that the Very Reverend Dr. *Vincent*, with his liberal spirit

sisting of six manors out of sixty; and after resigning the remainder to the king, retired from the world, and became abbot of his own foundation; the charter for which is signed by the king and several abbots, but by no abbot of *Westminster*, although it was executed at *London*. But when a new charter is given by *Edgar*, it is signed by *Wulfius* or *Wulsius*, the very abbot who, according to *Widmore*, in his History of the Abbey, was appointed by *Edgar* and *Dunstan* over the Benedictines introduced at *Westminster*. The proof, therefore, is little short of demonstration, that there was no abbot of *Westminster* before *Wulfius**.

* *Scriptores Anglici*, art. *Ingulphus*, p. 872. 882.

of communication, granted the use of his copy of *Widmore's History of the Abbey*, whose value is so much enhanced by his marginal observations.

It must be allowed, that all the existing means of historical information have been obtained that the subject of these volumes might require; and every local information has been most readily given by those who, from their respective offices, are best qualified to afford it. It remains, therefore, to indulge the hope, that these aids and assistances have not been granted in vain.

This History, with its graphic illustrations, and it is mentioned with every becoming acknowledgment, has, from the commencement of its periodical publication, been progressively encouraged by an increasing patronage; and the conclusion, it is hoped, will confirm the favourable opinion.



HISTORY

OF THE

ABBEY CHURCH

OF

ST. PETER'S, WESTMINSTER.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH.

THE history of those monasteries which were founded at periods subsequent to the Conquest, may, in general, be readily traced from the existing charters of their respective founders, or the authentic accounts of contemporary writers: but the origin of such as were established in earlier times, is involved in great obscurity; and is not only subject to the varying conjectures of ingenious and fanciful men, but to the idle dreams of credulous superstition. Several of the more ancient monastic institutions have their histories, such as they are; and the charters of others, which are said to have survived the long lapse of time and the accidents of the world, are produced to establish their remote antiquity. But as these histories appear to have been written at

so late a period, as to possess, at best, but a dubious authority, and to rest more upon traditionary collection, than historical deduction, they must be considered as of very uncertain reliance: while the charters appear to be of still less dependance; several of them having been discovered to be actual forgeries, as in the case of Crowland Abbey, in the county of Lincoln, and many others*.

The origin of Westminster Abbey is so involved in legend and fable, that it is in vain to search for any satisfactory or authentic data, whereon to establish it with any plausible degree of historical certainty.

The fictions which have been employed by the superstitious zeal, or the selfish interests, of its monks, to heighten the sanctity of their church, or attract endowments to it, are many of them so ridiculous and incredible, that, in this enlightened age, they would be thought unworthy of the slightest attention, if they did not, in their very errors and objects, form a part of its history. A slight attention, however, is all that this work will afford them.

That the apostle St. Peter founded an oratory on the spot where the church now stands, is the first of those legendary tales by which its antiquity and sacred character have been supported. This circumstance, however, claims no better authority than that of Wulfin, or Wulfinus, an abbot of the church, an old man of great sanctity and simplicity of manners, in the time of Edward the Confessor, who dreamed that his church was thus indebted to an apostolic origin, and persuaded the credulous monarch to believe that his nocturnal fancy was a celestial communication. This visionary occurrence, however, might have died away and been forgotten, if it had not found a strong support in the ambitious views of the papal power, which drew an argument from

* Hickes's *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 66.

St. Peter's supposed visit to this island, in favour of the rightful dominion over it being thus vested in those who assumed the character of that apostle's immediate successors.

This oratory, however, is said to have continued till the persecution of Christianity in Britain, which is a bloody feature of the reign of Dioclesian; and was the scourge of this island during two years. Amidst its sanguinary horrors, it committed the most abominable violations on every thing that bore the character of religion. It not only dilapidated the sacred buildings, but ransacked the graves of those who had been renowned for their sanctity, and treated their remains with the most sacrilegious ignominy; so that all appearance of religious worship was not merely deformed, but annihilated*. In the general destruction of that period, the oratory shared the common fate; and a temple to Apollo was erected on the spot by the pagans, which some of the legendary writers represent as having been afterwards destroyed by an earthquake, and not without a concomitant notion of preternatural interference. Others assert, that it was removed by King Lucius, who having lately embraced the Christian religion, erected a church on its site, and bestowed on it large endowments and immunities.

That, about this time, such a person as Lucius possessed dominion in some part of Britain, there is no reason to doubt. Archbishop Usher and Stillingfleet maintain that opinion; and the former confirms it by certain coins, which he mentions as bearing his name, and accompanied with the insignia of royalty: but that he was the first founder of this church, would probably have never been suggested, most certainly not on historical evidence, if he had not been a prince, and one of the earliest converts to Christianity; and therefore a suitable

* Gildas.—Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* lib. i.

instrument in the hands of the monks, to assist them in the fabrication of their legendary narratives.

Sulcardus, a monk of Westminster Abbey, and its earliest historian, wrote in the year 1080, and dedicated his book to Vitalis, then abbot: but he makes no mention of Lucius, who was probably brought forward to give authority to a posterior fabrication: on the contrary, he relates, that Sebert, nephew of Ethelbert, King of Kent and of the East Saxons, having received Christian baptism, at the persuasion and from the hands of Mellitus, Bishop of London, dilapidated a pagan temple at a place called Thorney, from its being overgrown with thorns, about two miles distant from London, and founded a church on the spot in honour of St. Peter.

John Flete, who was also a monk of Westminster, in the reign of Henry VI. and died prior of the Monastery, is another authority in support of the opinion, that Sebert was the founder of this church. He wrote on the state of paganism in Britain during the time of the Saxons, and mentions, that "Religion and "justice, being in a very declining state among the Britons, there arrived, at "different times, in various parts of the island, great numbers of infidel Saxons "and Angles, who, having obtained possession of the whole, according to "the custom of their country, erected temples, in all parts of it, to their "divinities. At the same time, they threw down the churches of the "Christians, drove them from their altars, and introduced the pagan worship "throughout the land. Thus the old abominations were every where re-esta-"blished, the Britons driven from their homes, and while Diana was worshipped "at London, incense was offered to Apollo in the suburbs of Thorney. *Im-"molat Dianæ Londonia, thurificat Apollini suburbana Thorneia.*" He then proceeds to state, that "Sebert, King of the East Saxons, and nephew to Ethel-"bert, having received baptism, dilapidated the temple of Apollo, situated in

" Thorney Island, near London; and there, with great devotion, erected and " founded a church in honour of St. Peter, the chief of the apostles."

An ancient chronicle, entitled the *Liber Regius*, also relates, that " King " Sebert, having been baptised by St. Austin, in the western part of London, " called Thorney, erected a church there to the honour of God and St. Peter, " and requested Mellitus, Bishop of London, to assist at the dedication of it."

But the earliest document in support of this opinion, is the charter of King Edgar, in which it is recorded, that " the Church of St. Peter was said to be built, " on the suggestion of King Ethelbert, by his nephew, Sebert, to whose government " London was then entrusted, in a certain terrible, uncultivated place, by the " inhabitants called Thorney. *In loco terribili qui ab incolis Thorneya nuncupatur.*"

The following is another variety in the accounts given of the foundation of this church.—Ethelbert, who was King of Kent, and chief monarch of the Saxons, is said to have possessed a superior command in Essex. Hence it is supposed that he extended his privileges to the seat of Sebert's power, by building a church in London, at that time a town of great comparative wealth and commerce, on the foundations of an old temple of Diana. This church, now the cathedral of London, was dedicated to St. Paul, and Mellitus was consecrated its first bishop. Sebert is represented as being soon after converted to Christianity, and following the example of his royal uncle, erected another church, where a temple of Apollo had once stood, in the Island of Thorney, now St. Peter's, Westminster.

Sebert died in the year 616, having reigned about seventeen years, and was interred, with his Queen Ethelgold, in this church. They were both, according to Sulcardus, inclosed in leaden coffins, &c. " *plumbeis sarcophagis*," and afterwards removed into the church of Edward the Confessor. Walsingham states, that they followed the improvements of the church, and were accordingly translated into that which was erected by Henry III.

These relations, however, such as they are, appear to terminate in a general belief, that Sebert, in consequence of his conversion to Christianity, and influenced by his uncle Ethelbert's example, built this church in Thorney Island; where he either pulled down, or found the ruins of, a pagan temple; and that he commanded Mellitus, then Bishop of London, to consecrate the holy structure to the honour of St. Peter.

A miracle, however, is related by all the historians which have hitherto been consulted, as the extraordinary attendant on this pious transaction. The account of it which follows is extracted from Dugdale, who professedly borrows from them all.

Mellitus, having made every necessary preparation for obeying the commands of Sebert, was prevented by a most extraordinary occurrence, which was no less than the intervention of the apostle St. Peter, in his own person; who is represented, on a stormy night, when the Thames was overflowing from the great quantity of rain which had fallen, to have engaged a fisherman, of the name of Edricus, with the promise of a reward, to carry him over to Thorney. This the poor man accordingly performed; when he saw St. Peter enter the church, from whence a light appeared immediately to issue, of such transcendent brightness, as to convert the darkness of the night into meridian splendour. A company of the heavenly host was also seen to attend the apostle in his holy work, while a chorus of celestial voices, and the most fragrant odours, assisted the wonders of the scene. Angels were also beheld ascending and descending, in the same manner as in Jacob's vision, recorded in the Scriptures. This awful and miraculous appearance had such an effect on the astonished fisherman, as to deprive him of his senses. In this state he remained, till the apostle, on his return, delivered him from his stupefaction, and unfolded his sacred character; commanding him, at the same time, to make known to the Bishop Mellitus all that he had seen and

heard, and to bid him refrain from a second consecration. The fisherman, however, did not forget his promised reward, and on demanding it, St. Peter, continues the historian, told him to let down his nets into the water. "*Laxa nunc inquid rctia in capturam.*" When the nets could scarce sustain the vast draught of salmon which they had inclosed. St. Peter then assured him, that neither he, nor his brethren, should at any time want that kind of fish, on the condition that they made an offering of the tenth part of what they might catch to the Church of Westminster*. The apostle then disappeared.

Mellitus having been informed of this miraculous ceremonial, hastened to the church, where he found the chrism, the drops of the wax tapers, and all the convincing signs of a real consecration. He, therefore, desisted from proceeding in his meditated office; and, in remembrance of the miracle, ordered the name of the place to be changed from Thorney to Westminster.

Such are the grounds of the opinion which has generally prevailed, and been incuriously adopted by subsequent historians, of the foundation of the Church of Westminster; but in a work which is specially and exclusively appropriated to its history, it will be expected, that all these circumstances should be examined and sifted with the most accurate and impartial attention, so as to

* This custom of offering salmon appears to have been of long continuance. An ancient manuscript in the Cottonian Library, confirms this custom, by the traditional testimony of several monks, living about the tenth century, who had seen salmon offered on the altar of the church; as well as respecting a dispute between the parson of Rotherhithe, on the Thames side, with the abbot and his monks, respecting this privilege. Pennant, whose accuracy there is no reason to doubt, though he does not mention his authority, states, that this custom was observed till the year 1382. He adds, also, that the fisherman, on the day of presentation, had a right to sit at the same table with the prior, and might demand of the cellarer, ale and bread; and the cellarer, again, might take of the fish's tail as much as he could hold with four fingers and his thumb erect.

give as much certainty to its origin as the lapse of ages, the varying opinions of writers, and the perplexities in which the subject has been involved, will allow. To that enquiry the pages which immediately follow, will be anxiously devoted.

It does not appear, that any charter of its founder has ever been produced, to support the claims of the Church of Westminster to the remote antiquity which has always formed a feature of its early history. John Flete*, who wrote a history of this place about the year 1443, appears to credit the opinion, which he quotes from an anonymous writer in the Saxon tongue, that this church is indebted for its original foundation to King Lucius, about the year of our Lord 184; and, as it has been already mentioned, that this structure was afterwards, during the persecution which took place in the reign of Dioclesian, taken from the service of Christian worship, and converted into a temple for the administration of religious rites to the pagan Apollo.—In the history ascribed to John Brompton, the same opinion appears to be adopted†.

For the weakness and wonders of superstition it is seldom very difficult to account: indeed, such a groundless and idle invention as that which has been mentioned, can be attributed alone to its influence on the historians who have recorded it. That a British prince should at that time reign in this part of our island; that a Christian church should be publicly erected in the midst of a

* John Flete became a monk of Westminster about the year 1421, and died prior of the Monastery in 1464. He wrote his history at the request of some of his monastic brethren, and proposed to bring it down to the year 1443: it goes, however, no farther than 1386. As he possessed more materials, his history is a larger work than that of Sulcardus; and the subsequent writers have borrowed very largely from him. He appears, indeed, to have been contented with such authorities as presented themselves to him; without attempting, or perhaps being particularly qualified, to discriminate truth from forgery.

† See the *Decem Scriptores*. Londini, 1682. Col. 725.

Roman, and consequently of an heathen, province; and that a monastery should be raised before there were monks to inhabit it, form such a succession of absurdities as have been seldom brought together to establish an historical fact. The monkish authorities are indeed unanimous in asserting, that Lucius was King of Britain; but the assertion is equally groundless and ridiculous. It is probable that he governed some part of it, but not in that division which has been so generally assigned to him: for the Romans were not such weak politicians as to suffer any dependant of theirs, if vested with regal power, openly to profess and encourage a religion different from their own. Neither Antoninus the Philosopher, nor his son Commodus, possessed characters so indulgent to Christianity. Venerable Bede, on whose sole authority the accounts of King Lucius are supported, has borrowed all his information respecting him from the *Liber Pontificalis**, whose author knew nothing of the state of Britain; and whose work is emphatically described by Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, in the preface to his historical account of *Church Government*, as "a mixen of ill-contrived forgeries."

The more general opinion will now be considered respecting the antiquity of this church, which determines its foundation to have taken place in the reign of King Sebert, when Mellitus was Bishop of London, and in one of the following years:—604, according to Dugdale; in 605, as stated by Stow and Camden; or in 610, as supposed by Newport and Willis, in the *Repertorium* of the one, and the account of *Mitred Parliamentary Abbots* of the other.

Sulcardus†, a monk of Westminster, appears to be the most ancient produ-

* Bishop Pearson's *Opera Posthuma*, p. 117.

† His treatise is very short, and a very large proportion of it is engrossed by the fabulous account of the consecration of the church by St. Peter. He seems to have done little more than copy a *Codex Memorialis* of the church, in better language than that in which the original was conveyed.

cible authority in favour of the opinion, that this church was founded in the reign of Sebert. The work of this writer, which is in the Cottonian Library, could not have been composed at a later period than the concluding part of the reign of William the Conqueror; it being dedicated to Vitalis, the abbot of the church, who died some time previous to the demise of that prince. There are, however, certain charters in the names of King Edgar, Archbishop Dunstan, and Edward the Confessor, published from the Cottonian, Lord Hatton's, and Sir Henry Spelman's libraries, and the archives of the Church of Westminster, which either mention, or imply, that Edgar was the founder of it. The charter of King Edgar, however, is evidently spurious, from the Norman style and phrases, which were introduced into the language of Britain at the Conquest*. The same objection may be made to that of St. Dunstan, with the addition of its numerous chronological errors†. Those of the Confessor, also, are rendered more than doubtful, from the Norman phrases and idioms which they contain; from the manner of affixing the seals‡, and by comparing them with a charter in the possession of the Church of Westminster, whose genuine character has been established.

There is, likewise, in a book now belonging to the church, a transcript, made about the time of Queen Mary, of a charter of the Confessor, that mentions the consecration of the church by the Apostle Peter, in which the appearances of fraud are not so obvious; though the allusion to the miracle must create a justifiable suspicion, that it is not a genuine instrument§.

* Hickes's *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 66.

† Wharton *de Episcop.* London, p. 79.

‡ Hickes's preface to *Literatura Septentrionalis*, p. 37.

§ The passage is as follows:—"Hanc largitatem ideo benigno animo renovamus et concedimus "Sancto Petro, principi apostolorum, cui locus prædictus dedicatus ac consecratus mirabiliter ab

The church is also in the possession of a Latin history, which Dugdale, in his *Monasticon**, attributes to Richard Sporley†; but, by Archbishop Usher, and on better authority, is ascribed to Flete; in which a chapter is quoted from an anonymous Saxon author: but as the original is not known, no decisive opinion, or even probable conjecture, can be formed of its authenticity, either from the age when, or the language in which, it was written. This extract, however, mentions the story of a church being built here by King Lucius, and afterwards converted into an heathen temple dedicated to Apollo: but as this circumstance is not mentioned by Sulcardus, it may be justly supposed, that whoever he was, he lived posterior to that writer; it having been the practice of the monkish historians, to gratify their own self-importance, or augment that of the institution to which they belonged, by adding new circumstances, in their pious zeal, to those which have been related by the authors who preceded them.

It appears, therefore, that Sulcardus, who probably wrote his history about the year 1080, is the oldest of those authors now remaining, who contend that this abbey was founded in the reign of the Saxon king, Sebert. This historian, however, does not name the founder; but generally styles him, *Quidam civium urbis non infimus et prædives christicola.*

" antiquis temporibus Dei providentia ab ipso clavigero confirmatus," &c.—It is a singular coincidence, that these words should be precisely the same with the clause foisted into King Edward's charter; a circumstance which certainly strengthens the suspicion of its being a forgery. At all events, it must be a very old one, as it gives a very good historical account of the possessions of the church.

* Vol I. p. 55.

† He was a monk of Westminster from about 1430 to 1490. The history which Dugdale attributes to him, is the work of John Flete, with an omission of the *Proœmium*, and a more enlarged account of the abbots before Wulsinus.

William of Malmsbury, very soon after the time of Sulcardus, mentions this monastery as having been founded by Mellitus, Bishop of London*: and, within forty years after him, Ailred, Abbot of Rievalle, ascribes its foundation to King Sebert†. From that time, the different writers who have considered the subject, have very generally agreed, that Westminster Abbey is indebted for its origin to that monarch.

Bishop Stillingfleet, an acknowledged scholar among our modern antiquaries, gives an air of plausibility to the opinion, by very ingeniously suggesting, that this monastery, as well as all others which were founded at that period, was intended, by Pope Gregory the Great, to be a seminary for persons brought up in the way of devotion and learning, and to become a nursery for the East Saxon church‡. It appears that institutions were then formed for such purposes, under the protection of monastic foundations, by the express injunctions of the popes; but the seminarial character cannot be considered as applicable to the foundations themselves.

Nevertheless, that this, as well as the other accounts given of the foundation of this church, is very questionable, will appear from this circumstance, that venerable Bede is altogether silent on the subject. He mentions, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, the foundation of the Cathedral of St. Paul by King Ethelbert; but not a word escapes him respecting that of Westminster. It is not only improbable, but it is not even credible, that Bede, who was himself a monk, and entertained so high an opinion of the monastic character, considering it, to use his own words, as the highest perfection of the Christian state, should have been silent on such a subject. He mentions, in the preface to his curious work, that he was very much

* *De Gestis Pontificum*, lib. iii.

† *Inter decem Scriptores*, col. 10.

‡ Stillingfleet on the *True Antiquity of London*.

indebted to Albinus, Abbot of St. Austin's, in Canterbury, and Nothelmus, afterwards archbishop of that see, but at that time a presbyter in London, for furnishing him with such material information in the progress of it. He also particularly exemplifies the princes and persons by whom, and in whose reigns, Christianity was planted in the East Saxon and other kingdoms: nor does he pay less attention to the establishment of several of our monasteries; and among the rest, those of Chertsey and Barking, by Erkenwald, Bishop of London. In short, is it probable, nay, is it possible, that Bede, considering his character, the nature of his enquiries, and the means of information which he possessed, should not know of such a monastic establishment as the Church of Westminster, had it then existed; and knowing it, that he should have passed it over in silence?

This objection is also considerably strengthened, if additional argument were necessary, by two old charters still remaining in the archives of this church. One of King Offa, in the year 785, and the other of King Edgar, about the year 960, which are altogether silent as to the foundation of the church by King Sebert, or in his time; which would not have been the case had it been known, or even generally believed, to be true.

That King Sebert, therefore, or any other person in his reign, was the founder of this church, though a received, appears to be an erroneous, opinion. The most rational conjecture on the subject, for we must be content without any decisive proof, is this:—that the foundation of the Church of Westminster took place about the time of venerable Bede's death, or between the years 730 and 740, about one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty, years subsequent to the period which has been generally received, and is but a small intrusion on the antiquity of this monastic establishment.

Such an opinion seems to receive a reasonable confirmation from the date of Offa's charter, in the year 785, in which the Monastery of Westminster is

mentioned as well known at that time, and states Ordbrihtus to be the name of the existing abbot. Nor does conjecture exercise an unreasonable power in assigning a space of fifty previous years to its establishment*. This age is also remarkable for the number of monasteries erected in the kingdom during the course of it; the devotion of those times running very much into similar foundations.

* Mathew Paris, who lived in the thirteenth century, in his book of the *Lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's*, makes great complaint against certain abbots of Westminster, as if, under pretence of becoming tenants, they had obtained possession, and then defrauded the Abbey of St. Alban's, of the manor of Aldenham, to which it of right belonged. It must be acknowledged, therefore, if this account is considered as relating an authentic transaction, that it will consequently affect the credit of the charter of King Offa, and weaken the argument which has been deduced from it, respecting the earliest foundation of the Church of Westminster. It may, however, be confidently observed, that there was a lawsuit between these two monasteries concerning the estate at Aldenham; and Mathew Paris himself, who was a monk of St. Alban's, does not deny, that his abbey lost the cause. It may also be contended, that this charter is beautifully written, on a scrip of parchment, in the hand of those times, and bears no discoverable marks of forgery. Besides, it may be added, that, according to the *Domesday Survey*, this manor did, at that time, and some time before it, belong to the Church of Westminster. Indeed, it appears, by the Confessor's charter, that Aldenham was among the possessions of the church previous to his own grants. Nevertheless, doubts have been entertained respecting the authenticity of the charter; which, however, seem to be chiefly supported by the suspicion attendant on the period from the abbacy of Ordbright to Wulsinus; that is, from 760 to 960, on account of the great dearth of history during that time.

The charter of Edgar has a suspicious circumstance connected with it, as it is dated in the year 951, and historians seem to agree, that Edgar did not come to the kingdom, or any part of it, before the year 957. Flete, however, has copied it, and as the phrase and handwriting are evidently of that time, and nothing in the substance or matter of it which can be fairly objected to, it is scarce stretching a point to suppose, that the anachronism is a negligence of the scribe. But, supposing it even to be spurious, it answers the purpose for which it has been produced; there being nothing in the original that bears allusion to the early foundation, or miraculous consecration, of the church. A clause to the latter effect, and which has been already mentioned, was artfully inserted in the copy.

But whoever the founder might be, there is no sufficient reason to induce a belief, that this religious institution is indebted for its foundation to any sovereign, or person of high rank or distinguished consideration. Sulcardus, when he speaks of the founder as some wealthy and Christian citizen, mentions also, that it was originally but a small church, "*ecclesia non adeo magna.*" It may also be observed, that when St. Dunstan, after it had been despoiled by the Danes, restored and replenished it with monks, he introduced into its re-establishment no more than twelve persons of that character; and it is not to be supposed, from the ardent zeal which actuated him in favour of monastic institutions, and the uncontrouled power which he enjoyed at that time, that he would not have restored its monastic character in a manner equal at least to that which it possessed at its original foundation*.

Hickes, in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*†, mentions a treatise, in the Saxon language, written about the time of the Norman conquest, which gives a particular account of the saints who were buried in different parts of England; nor is there a monastery of any note at that time, which is not said to have possessed one or more of the bodies of those holy men. None of them, however, are assigned to the Church of Westminster, which, if it had been of such antiquity as some have attributed, or been founded by such a distinguished person as King Sebert, would not have been so neglected as to be without its portion of their sacred dust.

It is a natural conjecture, that the monks of Westminster, with that spirit which has influenced historians of all denominations, by whom remote antiquity has very generally been considered as an honourable circumstance, first ascribed the foundation of this religious house to King Sebert, or some person in his time. They found, in the history of venerable Bede, the names of Ethelbert, Sebert, and Mellitus mentioned as the first planters of Christianity in this island among

* William of Malmsbury, p. 141.

† Page 117.

the East Saxons. The rest, it will not be uncharitable to suppose, they, by a pious fraud, supplied from their own invention; to add, as they thought, and they knew how it would weigh in the general estimation of those times, to the security, honour, and characteristic sacredness of the place.

When these inventions were first propagated cannot now be ascertained; nor would it be of any real importance, if it were possible to trace them to their precise origin: but it may gratify curiosity to state three periods which have been considered as the most probable for their fabrication: the reign of King Edgar; that of Edward the Confessor; or the time immediately subsequent to the Norman conquest.

The former of these eras, however, does not seem altogether to justify the opinion. It is true, that, in the reign of Edgar, St. Dunstan bore a supreme sway in every thing that was subject, or could be subjected, to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. If it were not by his own original and immediate direction that this monastery was repaired, he at least influenced that monarch to command the pious work, and attended himself to the execution of it. But though he was educated in monachism, and, with an ardent as well as unremitting zeal, not only supported, but extended that system to the absolute persecution of the secular clergy; there is no existing authority to justify the opinion, that the forgery of histories or miracles was a prevailing practice, in which he lived and ruled. His power was too predominant to stand in need of such auxiliary contrivances.

Edward the Confessor, to whom this church is indebted for its first display of grandeur and magnificence, possessed, with moderate parts, a very powerful imagination. He seems to have been peculiarly calculated to become the tool of designing priests, and the ladder of ambitious statesmen. The stories, therefore, might have been artfully invented, relative to the great antiquity and sacred consecration of this church, in order to quicken and enlarge his munificent dispositions towards it.

The Normans, when they had become masters of England, did not manifest the least scruple in seizing the possessions and invading the privileges of the Saxon monasteries: but though William, who was crowned here, had always professed the highest regard and gratitude to the memory of the Confessor, who may be said to have been its late founder, and had bestowed in exchange several estates upon this church; it is not considered, by those who have compared their respective value, that he is entitled to the eulogium with which William of Malmsbury accompanies his account of the transaction*. That monarch, indeed, never appears to have been troubled with scruples about the means to be employed in attaining his objects, whatever they might be: nevertheless, it was not altogether an irrational hope for the monks to entertain in those times, that a general belief in the remoteness and miraculous sanctity which they attached to the origin of the church, might serve to check his violent and arbitrary spirit from doing injury to their monastery, if it did not excite in him a desire to do them good.

At both these periods there was, it may be presumed, sufficient cause for the monks to adopt a practice so general in that age: nor was it more difficult for them in those times, respectively, to invent histories, and contrive accounts of miracles, than it was, at no distant period, to forge new charters; several of which are in the archives of this church: or, at least, to make transcripts of the old ones, or translations of them into the Latin tongue, with such invented additions as might serve to defend their possessions against the rapacity of the Norman princes†.

* Extulit locum magnis redditibus prædiorum, f. 134.

† Such was the rapacious spirit of the Conqueror, that, taking advantage of the simple method of conveying property among the Saxons, which was sometimes done by the conveying of a horn, a belt, or some similar article of little value, he put many abbots and others under the difficulty of proving their property by some express deed, or instrument in writing, decisive of their title. Several of the abbots and monks, therefore, in order to secure their respective properties, felt themselves justified in forging charters, for their protection against such an arbitrary and tyrannical proceeding.

At all events, whatever might be the real cause of these fictions, the inventors of them have involved the early history of England, at least in ecclesiastical matters, in great uncertainty; and left those who came after them no other means, but that of conjectural ingenuity, to discover truth from falsehood.

The account, therefore, that Westminster Abbey was first founded by King Sebert, or any other person during his reign, finds no support in any allowable authorities. Besides, the writers who first propagated the story lived, at least, four hundred and fifty years after the death of that prince; a circumstance which at once destroys their competence as authentic historians of such an event: they are also at variance among themselves in their respective relations of it. To which may be superadded the acknowledged practice of those times, and the interest which the monks of Westminster felt, in assigning the earliest period which they could devise, by any appropriate invention, for the foundation of their house: an example which is well known to have been followed by their successors, who afterwards forged charters, in order to support claims to certain privileges, and to obtain exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

FROM THE FIRST FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH TO ITS RESTORATION IN THE TIME OF KING EDGAR.

In the preceding chapter it has been attempted to authenticate, or at least support, the opinion, by a succession of admissible probabilities, that the Church of Westminster was not erected, towards the latter end of the second century, by a King Lucius, as some authors have maintained; nor by Sebert, King of the East Saxons, in the seventh, as the generality of writers on the subject have asserted; but most probably towards the middle of the eighth, by some person whose name has not been transmitted to our times.

It derived its name from its situation being west of London, or the episcopal Church of St. Paul; and, on its first erection, was a small building. The place on which it stands, though now a part of the main land, is generally supposed to have been an island at that early period. Such a circumstance will not appear improbable to any one who will, under this notion, attend to the situation of the church. Where the canal in St. James's Park now is, there might have been a branch of the Thames, or a large ditch, which, especially at high water, might have given the spot an insular character. There were also ditches near the church, which inclosed the monastery, with some streets and lanes on the north side of it, and were supplied with water by the tide: but they were artificial, and made at a period long after the first erection of a monastic edifice; most probably for the purposes

of drainage and the division of property. Pennant gives this island a more extensive boundary; and conjectures, plausibly enough, that the stream which now supplies the Chelsea water-works, helped to form the insulation.

That this island bore the name of Thorney is affirmed by Sulcardus, the oldest historian of this church, "*Insula Thorneie dicta ab urbe duobus miliaribus,*" as well as by every other writer who has had occasion to notice or observe on the early history of the church which has given so much importance to the spot. There is, however, a far more ancient authority for it in the charter of King Offa, bearing date the year 785*. Venerable Bede gives also the etymology of the place, in which he has been followed by every subsequent historian, and derives the title from its being overgrown with thorns, which, it is not improbable, might have been its natural condition. Hence it was called Thorney Island; unless the earliest Saxon possessors gave it the name of some place which it might resemble, or whereto they had some local attachment, in their own country; no uncommon origin of local denomination†.

Of the first religious edifice in this place, or in its renovated state during the time of St. Dunstan, no remains appear at any time to have been discovered; nor is there any account which will justify a reliance on any circumstances respecting the first period of this church, except that King Offa was a benefactor to it; that a monk of the name of Ordbright was the abbot in the year 785; and that, during a very long period, it was deserted by the monks, and remained in a very

* Ego Offa, divina dispensante pietate, monarchia Merciensis regni munitus, pro amore omnipotentis Dei in memoria æterna, dedi Sancto Petro, et plebi domini degenti in *Torneia*, in loco terribili, quod dicitur æt Westminster quandam partem terræ, &c.

† There were other places of the same name in different parts of England. *Thorney Abbey* was a considerable monastery situated on an island in Cambridgeshire. The same denomination belonged to a place which formed a part of the possessions of Muchelney Abbey, in Somersetshire.

ruinous state. Various reasons have been assigned for its desolated condition. Sulcardus attributes it to the want of benefactors after the death of Offa; but it is surely a more rational opinion, that it was dilapidated by the Danes, whose hostility to religious edifices, and particularly those of the monastic character, is a fact fully established by historical records. Besides, this circumstance is confirmed by the *Saxon Chronicle*, which mentions, that the Danish forces were either besieging or in possession of London in the several years of 839, 851, 872, and 879.

Flete, who wrote in the reign of Henry VI. has, in his history of this place*, collected the names of several persons who are said to have presided here during this dubious period; but with what titles, or under what character, whether as priors, provosts, or abbots, for what number of years they respectively or collectively enjoyed their situations, or in the reign of what kings, he not only acknowledges he cannot ascertain, but adds also, that he knew of no histories which could afford him any information on the subject. Sporley†, however, who wrote at a subsequent, but no distant, period, gives a very particular account of the several persons who at this time presided over the monastery. He not only supplies a complete succession of them, but distinguishes their individual characters as priors, provosts, or abbots, with the precise time when they enjoyed their office, as well as in what year, and even on what day of the month many of them died‡.

Though this writer produces no authority whatever for this extraordinary account, and no common suspicion must attend the circumstances in which it is involved; as other historians have thought proper to copy it with a very minute attention, it would be considered as an unjustifiable omission, if these pages were to reject the insertion. It is given, therefore, with the addition of such notices, refer-

* MS. in the library of the dean and chapter.

† Cotton Library, *Claudius*, A. 8.

‡ Dart's *Westmonasterium*, vol. II.

ences, and authorities from the Cotton manuscripts, &c. which Dart has introduced in the account of the *Lives of the Abbots of Westminster*, with which Sporley has furnished him.

ORTHBRIGHT.—604.

This person, who is said to have been named abbot by Sebert, presided in that character for the space of twelve years; when he died, on the 13th day of January, 616, and was buried in his monastery. After his death, the church was governed by priors, till the time of Orthbright II. This circumstance is stated to have arisen from the apostasy of the sons of Ethelbert and Sebert, who, on embracing paganism, drove Mellitus, Bishop of London, from his see: so that the Christian church in those parts remained for a long time in a state of degradation and discouragement*.

GERMANUS.—616.

After the death of Orthbright, the government of the church, in its humiliated state, devolved on Germanus, who had enjoyed the office of prior under him. All that is known of this person is, that he retained the title of prior of the church several years, and was buried in it.

ALDRED

Was his successor; but at what time is equally doubtful with the death of the former, as well as the number of years during which he possessed his situation; which, however, are said to be many. He died in the year of our Lord 675, which was the last of the reign of Cadwaller, the last British king; and in the reign of Sebba and Sighere, Kings of the East Saxons, as well as in the prelacy of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was interred in this monastery. It was in his time that Segebert and his brother were converted to Christianity, by

* Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 5.

the persuasions of Oswin, King of Northumbria*. Soon after, Cedda, Bishop of the East Angles, was sent to convert this province, and built Tilbury on the Thames side, in Essex, making it his episcopal seat. It may, therefore, be inferred, that Germanus and Aldred were only titular priors of this church, having left it when Mellitus fled from London, and returned to it under the protection of Cedda's mission, when Christianity was restored.

SYWARD.—675.

He was prior near ten years; and lived in the times of the Popes Donus, Agatho, and Leo, as well as Ecfrid, King of Northumbria. The reign of that monarch is remarkable for a dissension between him and Wilfred, Archbishop of York, as well as the memorable council at Straenshall and Hatfield. He died in 684, the year previous to the consecration of St. Cuthbert, Bishop of Landisfarn, and the death of Sighere, King of the East Saxons; and two years before the consecration of John Beverly to the church of Hagustald. He was buried in this monastery.

OSMUND.—684.

To him succeeded Osmund, in whose time, Cadwell, King of the East Saxons, Archbishop Theodore, and Benedict the Abbot, died at Rome. The latter founded Cyrwy and Weremouth, the first abbies of the Benedictine order in England. A preference of the monastic life much prevailed at this period; indeed, to so great a degree, that Ethelred, of Mercia, was shorn a monk at Bardney Abbey, and was afterwards abbot there. Offa, King of the East Saxons, and Kenred, King of Mercia, also underwent the ceremony of the tonsure at Rome. Osmund died in the year 705, and was interred in the church, which he had governed twenty-one years.

* Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 22.

SELRED.—726.

Here is supposed to be a confusion in the dates, or that some one filled up the interval between the last prior and Selred, whose name is lost. The latter lived in the time of Cuthbert, King of the West Saxons, Ethelwald, King of Mercia, and Ceolulph, King of Northumbria; of venerable Bede, the historian, and Neothelm, Archbishop of Canterbury. He died in the year 744, after presiding over this church near eighteen years, where his remains added to the interments in it. It appears, therefore, that his succession was twenty-one years after the death of Osmund.

ORGAR.—744.

This prior was contemporary with Offa, the King of Mercia, who is represented as a prince of a very munificent character, and a great benefactor to monasteries. That of St. Alban was a particular and highly favoured object of his bounty. Orgar died in the year 765, after having administered the affairs of his monastery for nearly twenty-two years, when it became his sepulchre.

BRITHSTAN.—765.

Of this person there is no other notice than that he governed his church for the space of twenty years, in the time of Offa; and added to the number of its dead, in the year 785.

ORTHBRIGHT II.—785.

On the death of Brithstan, Orbrith, or Ordbright, succeeded; in whose time Offa manifested great regard to this church, being the only prince since Sebert, the founder, who had shewn it any favour in the long succession of nearly two hundred years. He likewise built cells for the monks, and, as some writers mention, not only deposited the regalia here, but also founded a free-school. The

latter was a necessary institution, as the papal injunctions required, that every conventual church should have a school adjoining, and under its particular care and direction. This church being thus improved and dignified, the prior re-assumed the title of abbot. How long he enjoyed his conventual advancement, is not ascertained; but, according to a MS. of this church, he was removed to the bishopric of Sealsey, in Devonshire, being the fifth bishop of that see, where he died, in the year 794, the last of Offa's reign. If, however, a superior credit is to be given to the catalogues of bishops in that see, Osa, or Bosa, possessed the prelacy in 790; and Orthbright, between Sigga and him; that is, in the interval of the years 783 and 790.

ALFWIUS.—796.

This abbot succeeded Orthbright, but after some intermediate vacancy or unknown predecessor, unless there is a mistake in the subsequent dates. He is said to have governed this church with honour for twenty-four years; when he was removed from it, to be consecrated Bishop of Fountain, where he died, on the 10th day of February, 820: so that there is a deficiency of two years, which does not appear to be supplied. He is particularly mentioned in the old martyrology.

ALFWIUS II.

To him succeeded another of the same name, who is mentioned in a charter of King Edgar: he lived in the reign of Egbert, the King of the East Saxons, and in the times of Theologild and Coelnoth, Archbishops of Canterbury. After enjoying his abbacy seventeen years, he died the 5th of April, 837, and was buried in his abbey.

ALGAR.—846.

In the time of this abbot the Danes made very destructive inroads, and overrun the kingdom of Mercia. In the fourth year of his advancement, those

invaders are said to have come to London with five ships, where they committed hostilities of every kind; destroying, or as some say, and with more probability from such a small force, only pillaging the city. Mathew of Westminster increases their fleet to three hundred and fifty vessels; but mentions nothing of their attempt on London. After some successes, he adds, they marched into Surrey. It is more than probable, however, that in such a progress, the places adjoining to London felt the hostile consequences of it, and among them this monastery. Edward the Confessor, indeed, mentions the incursions of the Danes, and the injuries his highly favoured church received from them: nor could less be expected, when, in the year 872, and in the twenty-sixth year of this abbot, they came to London and wintered there. Henry of Huntingdon also mentions the reparation of London by Alfred in the year 886, which had been ruined and dispeopled by the Danes; so that the inhabitants had deserted it, and did not return thither till the victorious arm of that monarch could give them security. It may be presumed, therefore, that this abbot and the rest of his convent fled and were scattered abroad, except such as perished by the fury of the enemy, when the church and monastery felt the effects of the infidel sacrilege of the invaders. At length, however, the sacred edifice being restored, the venerable Algar, after a perilous and troublesome government of forty-three years, closed his days there, in an advanced age, on the 14th of July, and in the year 889. Thus the monastery, which allowed him little or no repose during his life, at length afforded him a peaceful and uninvaded grave. It is, however, to be observed, that the interval between the death of Alfwius II. and the time marked out for the advancement of Algar to the abbacy, occupied the space of nine years, according to the computation of the monks of the house: so that either the danger apprehended from the Danes prevented the nomination of a successor all that time, or the calculation must have been erroneous: but the first seems to be the

most probable reason, because his death is said to be in the nineteenth year of the reign of Alfred, which was about 889 or 890. It appears, however, that this abbot contrived to recover the lands belonging to his church a short time before his death, and after Alfred had expelled the Danes. At least, it is mentioned, in a charter of King Edgar, that Algar held lands here in quiet possession.

EADMERUS.—889.

During the time when he presided over the monastery, it is said to have flourished under the government of that wise and excellent prince, Alfred; who, it is added, enriched it with lands and gifts; "granting to Eadmerus and his abbey, as I suppose," says Dart, "lands at Wennington in Essex." This abbot governed his church, as it is said, forty-four years; when he died, in September, 922, and was interred in his church. Here, however, is another example of confusion in the dates.

ALFNOD.—922.

He lived in the reign of Edward the Elder and Athelstan; when the abbey is represented as enjoying a state of peace and tranquillity. Alfnod governed it for the space of seventeen years; and dying, in the year 939, exchanged the uncertain tranquillity of the cloister for the assured quiet of the tomb. But, after all, the early state of this abbey is so involved in doubt, and, it might be added, in obscurity, as scarcely to justify any dependance upon the brief, scattered, and varying accounts which have been given of it. The defect may be attributed to two causes: the deplorable ignorance of the times, and the invasion of the Danes. Hence it happens, also, that from the time of Erkinwald to that of St. Dunstan, who began to be known about this period, the affairs of the see of London are scarcely mentioned. A name or two of certain persons connected

with it, as cursorily stated by venerable Bede*, appear to be the only notice taken of it in the course of three centuries.

ALFRIC.—939.

On the death of Alfnod, Alfric succeeded to the government of this monastery, where he remained but for a short time; not more than three or four years. The West Saxons having been long harassed with wars, the church had experienced its full proportion of suffering, and was no longer in a state of regular government. In consequence, therefore, of its forlorn situation, as it is stated by Mathew of Westminster, Reymund, Archbishop of Canterbury, called a council, in which a division of bishoprics was made, and one fixed at Crediton, now Hyrton, in Devonshire; to which Alfric was afterwards appointed. It is supposed, for the fact is involved in more than common confusion, that he enjoyed his prelacy about ten years, and died in the year 952†.

The account of the priors and abbots of the monastery to this period, is given rather to gratify curiosity, than on the presumption of affording authentic information. Flete gives a mere list of their names, and acknowledges that to be the utmost extent of his acquisitions. Sporley enters into a remarkable state of particulars respecting them. This has been already observed, as well as the ignorance of those authorities from whence he obtained his very doubtful information. It is apparent, however, that they are both mistaken in the three persons whom they represent as having been advanced from their situations in the Church of Westminster to bishoprics—Ordbright to Selsey, Oswy to Wells, and Alfric to Crediton; there being no person of those names in two of the sees, till two hundred years after the time which they assign for their respective elevations; and the third

* Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*

† Godwin *de Præsul.*—Mat. West. p. 189, n. 39.

was Abbot of Malmsbury, and not of Westminster. The observation also naturally suggests itself, that the succession of the abbots, and the duration of the term in which they held their offices, are recorded with an assumed degree of precision by Sporley, far better suited to peaceable and prosperous times, than the incursions of such ravaging and infidel enemies as the Danes; who are said to have destroyed the place, and left it in ruins: in which dilapidated state it is supposed to have remained for a long series of years. It is not, indeed, to be reconciled to the ordinary notions of historical veracity, that the times of those abbots should be made out with such pretensions to accuracy, when there is so much apparent obscurity and perplexity in the accounts of those who succeeded them.

Dart has, in his *Westmonasterium*, taken Sporley for his groundwork, and made such additions as he could extract from subsequent writers, and the ancient records that came under his inspection: yet, when he arrives at this period of his list of abbots, he accounts for the deficiency of original materials in a manner which appears to strike at the credibility of those which he has found and adopted.—"It "is to be observed," he says, "that the affairs of this abbey till this time are in- "volved in great darkness, for two reasons: the first, the ignorance of the times; "the second, the Danish disturbances: and it is, I suppose, for this reason too, that "from Erkenwald till Dunstan, who began to rise in the time of Abbot Alfnod, "the affairs of the see of London are not once mentioned, save that venerable "Bede takes notice of one Waldhere in his time: so that, for near three hundred "years, there is only a bare succession of names, without even the times they "lived in: much less then is it to be expected, that this small convent, a part of, "and then in subjection to, that see, should be more remarked for its affairs*."

The royal benefactions which are mentioned by Flete as having been made to

* Vol. II. p. 5.

the church, previous to the time of King Edgar, by Offa, Kinwulph, Alfred, and Athelstan, with, perhaps, the exception of Offa, are, in a great measure, if not altogether, the offspring also of conjecture; and were most probably suggested by the pious and charitable character of those princes, and their being known to have been benefactors to other places. The notions may have been derived, likewise, from spurious or interpolated charters, or may have been true only to a certain extent: as Alfred and Athelstan, having received some relics from abroad, which Edward the Confessor afterwards gave to this church, might be involved in the honour of the gift. Sulcardus positively denies, that any benefactions were bestowed on this church in the interval of the reigns of Edgar and Offa. *Nullus prædicto profuit loco**.

* Offa reigned thirty-nine years, from 757 to 796. Edgar's reign commenced 959, and that of Edward the Confessor in 1041. It appears from Mathew Paris, that Offa was a great benefactor to the Church of St. Alban, and munificent to the church in general. Nor is it improbable, that his liberality might extend to Westminster; for though the gift of Aldenham was contested, the right which the Church of St. Alban claimed, failed of being established.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF THE MONASTERY IN THE TIME OF KING EDGAR, TO THE REBUILDING OF IT BY KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

It is universally agreed by all the writers who mention Dunstan, more generally called St. Dunstan, that he entertained a regard, which amounted almost to a passion, for monastic institutions; indeed, it is the principal feature of his character, and displayed, not merely a pious, but a most violent zeal in the support of them, which he was enabled to indulge from the predominant influence he had acquired in all ecclesiastical matters during the reign of King Edgar. When, therefore, he was appointed bishop, or rather administrator of the bishopric of London*, he easily engaged that peaceable and pious prince to order the Monastery of Westminster to be restored, and rendered fit for the reception of those inhabitants whom he had destined to the religious occupation of it. He also obtained from the king the restoration of some of the lands of which it had been despoiled, and purchased others. He then brought hither, most probably from Glastonbury, where he had himself been abbot, twelve monks, for the purpose of constituting it a small monastery of the Benedictine order†.

* This circumstance has occasioned Dunstan having the credit given him, by some, at least, of his order, of rebuilding or renovating the church at his own expence, and thereby acquiring the title of one of its founders; but it is not probable, nor was it necessary, when there was a prince whom he could so readily call to such a work.

† William of Malmsbury, p. 141, edit. 1596.

It does not appear to be satisfactorily ascertained, whether Austin the Monk first brought the regulations of that order into England, on his making a convert of King Ethelbert; or if it was the act of Welfrid, Archbishop of York, about seventy years after*; or whether they are indebted for their introduction into the kingdom to Dunstan. This question is discussed at large by Reyner and Mabillon; and curiosity may be amused, if the judgment is not satisfied, by consulting their works on the subject†. The latter of them very seriously contends, that Austin was of this order himself, and brought over with him the rules by which it is administered. The case may, perhaps, be better represented by the Bishop of Derry‡. "If St. Augustin," he says, "was himself of this order, and planted it at Canter- "bury, it is demonstrable, that the rules were soon forgotten, or laid aside, even "in the southern parts of the island." And immediately before—"for whatever "may be argued to the contrary, it is very plain, that our first Saxon monks knew "nothing of St. Bennet's rules; but lived under the discipline brought from Ire- "land, which was different from what was afterwards introduced by St. Dunstan.'

If, however, that powerful ecclesiastic did not first introduce the Benedictine order into England, he was undoubtedly the great restorer of it. For this purpose, Abo, a monk, was invited into England, from the Monastery of Fleury, in France; where it was supposed, that the Benedictine regulations were better understood and practised, to instruct the English religious in the nature and observance of them. Having resided here as long as it was necessary to fulfil the object of his visit, he returned home, amply rewarded for the task which he had performed§.

* Stillingfleet's Works, vol. V. p. 671.

† De Apostolatu Benedictinorum in Anglia.—*Analecta Vetera*, vol. II. p. 173.

‡ Nicholson's *Historical Library*, p. 173, edit. 1714.

§ *Bibliotheca Floriacensis*, p. 305.

It is the opinion of Sulcardus, that Westminster first derived its monastic character from the protecting power of St. Dunstan; as, previous to his time, it consisted of nothing more than a church, with the ordinary establishment of such a religious edifice. Offa, he says, had formed the design to make it a convent, or a monastery; but was prevented in consequence of his undertaking a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died. Here is an evident confusion between Offa, King of the East Saxons, and Offa, King of Mercia*. In the charter of the latter mention is made not only of an abbot, but of monks also at this place†; so that it must have been a conventual establishment previous to the time of that prince.

The privileges which Dunstan is said to have granted to this church, or obtained from King Edgar, for its re-establishment, are not now discoverable in

* Both these kings made journies to Rome, though with very different views; and both appear to have manifested a strong attachment to the monastic institutions and character.

Offa, King of the East Saxons, who succeeded Seafred in the year 705, married the daughter of Kenred, King of Mercia; and, being smitten with some violent disease, or, as it is also said, by the earnest persuasions of his wife, proceeded to Rome in company with her, the king her father, and Edwin, Bishop of Winchester, where he professed himself a monk, and died in the habit in 707, after a short reign, if it may deserve that name, of two years.

Offa, King of Mercia, who began his reign in 757, is among the more renowned princes of those times. His journey to Rome is represented by different historians, as having different objects. Some ascribe it to the remorse he suffered for his cruel and treacherous murder of Ethelbert, the unoffending King of the East Angles; and the hope, that, by his submissions and liberalities to the pope, he might purchase his peace with Heaven. Others attribute his visit to Rome for the purpose of procuring from the pope a confirmation of some extraordinary privileges which he had granted, or proposed to grant, to the highly favoured monastery of St. Alban's. Both these objects might have a combined influence on his journey to the capital of the papal world.

† Plebi domini degenti in Torneia.

any authentic document, as the charters which have been attributed to the one and the other are acknowledged forgeries.

It is related by Sulcardus, and others after him, that St. Dunstan, when he had finished his favourite work of restoring and re-establishing this abbey, entered himself on its government, and presided over it for many years. This, however, is not probable in any other way than by the influence which his high stations, and benefactions to the place, must naturally give him. Besides, it is mentioned by William of Malmsbury*, that when he had repaired and re-established this religious house, he appointed Wulfsige, or Wulsie, or according to his Latin name, Wulsinus, by which he appears to be more generally known, to be the abbot of Westminster.

From the year 942, the time when Alfric, the preceding abbot, was removed to Kyrton, this church does not appear to have been under any regular administration. The monks were scattered and dispersed abroad, and the building itself left to neglect and decay; the probable consequence of the hatred which Edwy had conceived against the monks, whom he expelled, and whose places he supplied with secular clergy. But when Edgar gained half his kingdom, Dunstan was recalled, and a profusion of honours and preferments heaped upon him. He began the career of his renewed power, according to Matthew of Westminster, as might be naturally expected, by dismissing the secular clergy, and restoring the monks to the situations from which they had been expelled†; and as bishop of London, or the administrator of the diocese, began instantly to reform this see, and to restore the Church of Westminster, which was a part of it. Accordingly, when he had put it into a state to receive its monastic community, he is said, by

* Fol. 141.

† M. Westm. p. 196. n. 31.

the same writer, to have appointed Wulsinus, or, as he denominates him, St. Wltius, to be the abbot*.

To unravel the confusion, and reconcile the contradictions, that appear in the accounts of the historians of those times, would be an endless labour, as it would prove a fruitless attempt. According to Flete, in the first year of Dunstan's advancement to the bishopric of London, Wulsinus received that prelate's benediction as a monk of Westminster: and, on the same authority, he was appointed two years after, about the year 980, to the government of the church by deputation, *ad hujus loci regimen deputatus*:—but it was not till the succeeding reign of Ethelred, that he was elevated to the dignity of abbot, *abbas hujus loci ordinatus est*: so that he was first received as a monk by Dunstan, and afterwards governed the monastery in the character of prior, as preparatory to a higher station. Flete and Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's, differ, however, a few years as to the period of Dunstan's consecration to the see of London, and the admission of Wulsinus to the monastery of Westminster. But amidst these confused and contradictory statements, some light appears to be thrown on the subject by *The Constitutions for ordaining Monks in the Church of Sherburn*, written by Bishop Wulsinus, in the year 998, by order of King Ethelred; which document is now existing in the Cotton Library†.

* With all his authority and love of power, Dunstan had too great a predilection for the monastic institution, to attempt an infringement of any of its privileges: and, therefore, when he is said to have appointed Wulsinus abbot of Westminster, it must be considered as an overstrained expression; meaning no more than his influence with the monks in the election, or the confirming it, as bishop of the diocese in which the monastery stood: for, according to the constitutions of St. Benedict, and there were at that time no monks in England but of the Benedictine order, the power of electing an abbot was vested solely and exclusively in the cloistered fraternity.—Bede *in Hist. Abbatum, &c.*

† Otho, 4 A. 18.

In an ancient charter of King Ethelred to this monastery, is the following remarkable passage, which, it might be imagined, if these charters were not at best very suspicious evidences, would dispel every doubt on the subject. "Hoc "notum fore cupimus, quod beatæ memoriæ Dunstanus, cuidam fideli et probato "monacho Wlsio vocabulo, quam quasi filium pura delectione amavit, illud mo- "nasterium ad regendum regulariter commisit, et nos postea abbatem illum con- "stituimus." At the same time, Ingulphus produces a charter, and likewise an excommunication on account of Medehamstead, where this monk signs by the name of Wulsinus, *Abbas Sancti Petri extra Londinensem*, which, bearing the date of 966, must have been in the reign of Edgar, and consequently previous to that of Ethelred.

At all events, whatever difference of opinion may have prevailed respecting these incidental circumstances, there can be no doubt of his having been abbot of Westminster, and in this order of succession.

WULSIE, OR WULSINUS.

Flete represents this dignified ecclesiastic as having been born in London, and brought up at Westminster; but it is more probable that he had been bred a monk under Dunstan, at Glastonbury, and removed from thence with the religious community that formed the establishment of this church. Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*, particularly names him as having belonged to that abbey*. Indeed, at this period, Westminster was in such a desolate condition as to disqualify it from being a seminary for religious discipline: besides, it is recorded as an authentic circumstance, that, at the time of King Edgar's accession, there were no monks but in the abbies of Glastonbury and Abingdon.

* *Monasticon*, p. 141.

Of the particulars of his abbacy, and in what manner he discharged the duties of it, there is no satisfactory information. His conduct must have been such as to secure the friendship and patronage of Dunstan: for it appears, that, between the years 966 and 970, he was promoted, by the influence of that powerful prelate, to the bishopric of Sherburn; where, after the example of his protector, as well as of Oswald and Ethelwold, the Bishops of Worcester and Winchester, he expelled the secular clergy from his cathedral, and filled their places with monks; by whom he was, together with those prelates, gratefully enrolled in the calendar of saints.

There is a considerable difference of opinion among the ecclesiastical historians of this period, respecting his continuance in the abbacy of Westminster after his elevation to the bishopric of Sherburn. Flete asserts, that he actually held both*. Sporley also states, that after his election to the episcopal throne, he still continued to govern both monasteries; and watched over them with such tender care, that his whole time was passed in alternately visiting them: so that both these religious institutions seemed as one flock under one shepherd. On the contrary, William of Malmsbury asserts, with more probability, and, as it may be presumed, on better authority, that when the bishop proposed to appoint an abbot, not over the monks of Westminster, where he had no jurisdiction, but over those whom he had introduced at Sherburn, the cloistered brethren joined in a request, that they might have no other governor but himself. With their petition he did not hesitate to comply, and consequently retained that character to the end of his days†. It may, therefore, be reasonably supposed, that these contradictory

* Flete, fol. 23.

† Malmsbury, p. 36.

opinions must have arisen from the negligence or misapprehension of the former writers.

Indeed, what we find related concerning this abbot is involved in more than the common perplexity which attends the accounts of those who preceded and followed him. But what the historians of the times have said must be here related; and though the truth cannot be accurately developed, the historical circumstances which accompany the enquiry may afford an inferior gratification. This principle, it is hoped, will be allowed to apply to a considerable portion of the early history of this church.

The monks represent Wulsinus as remarkable for the sanctity of his life; and describe, in the spirit of enthusiastic gratitude which the cloister never failed to demonstrate to its protectors, the celestial splendour that distinguished his dying hour. On the approach of death, it is said, that he suddenly exclaimed, "I see the heavens open, and Jesus Christ standing on the right hand of God;" when he instantly expired*, on the 6th day of January, in the year 1004, and in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King Ethelred. He was buried in the church of Sherburn, and not without those miraculous testimonies to his superior sanctity, which the monks knew how to invent, and never failed to record. There his remains reposed during twelve years; when they were removed and enshrined, as Sporley relates, with great singing and rejoicing. His shrine was on the right side of the high altar, where daily prayers were offered up for his intercessory mediation. William of Malmsbury mentions, that, in his time, the bishop's staff and vestments were preserved as tokens of his humility. His miracles are particularly recorded in Tinmouth, Capgrave, and other legendary writers.

* Malmsbury *de Gest. Pont.* p. 248.

The same historian, also, relates, that a treaty was concluded at Rouen, in the year 991, between King Ethelred and Richard, Duke of Normandy, by an embassy sent from England: at the head of which, he says, was Ethelsinus, Bishop of Sherburn; who could be no other than Wulsie, or Wulsinus, as he continued in the possession of that see several years posterior to the period of the Norman negociation; and the transcriber might easily mistake the Saxon p, or w, for the þ, or TH; and so write Ethelsinus, instead of Wulsinus.

This, it is presumed, is an allowable correction, and certainly comes in aid to reconcile, in some degree at least, what the historians have said of this abbot. If this criticism be admitted, Widmore rather quaintly observes, that the great cardinal of King Henry VIII. was not the only, or the first, churchman of his name, employed in the state affairs of England*.

ALFWY, OR ALDSIUS.

On the death of Wulsinus, the monks elected Aldsius to succeed him. In his time, the Danes made an incursion into England, and marked their progress, as they had ever done, with ravage and destruction. Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, was among the victims of their barbarity; while every monastery, which lay in their savage route, was plundered or destroyed. Canute also besieged London with a great force; when it cannot be supposed, that Westminster Abbey, which was in the immediate vicinity of that city, would escape pillage: but it was fortunately saved from the entire destruction which threatened it, by the arrival of King Edmund, who raised the siege of the metropolis. Aldsius died in the year 1017, having been abbot fourteen years.

* Widmore's *History of Westminster Abbey*, p. 8.

WULNOTH.

As the death of the last abbot took place at the time of Canute's usurpation, the monks did not think it advisable to proceed to the immediate election of a successor; but, in the hope of securing this foreign monarch's favour and protection, they, with great humility, submitted the nomination to his royal pleasure. The princely Dane, who possessed an understanding, as well as a liberality of character, not often seen in the sovereigns of his age or country; and being influenced, perhaps, by his queen, Emma, who was the widow of Ethelred; called many of the clergy to his council, and adopted the policy of attaching the ecclesiastics to his interest. Of these, says Matthew of Westminster, the Benedictines were selected as his favourites. At this time, a monk of the name of Wulnoth belonged to the Church of Westminster, who had distinguished himself by his great wisdom and superior excellence; and, having risen into great favour with the king, he was recommended, by his royal protector, to the monastery; when the monks manifested a ready obedience to their sovereign's will, by immediately proceeding to the election of Wulnoth to be their abbot. The king delighted so much in his conversation, and so highly esteemed his virtues, that the royal visits were very frequent at the abbey, whither Canute went to consult him on his most important affairs. He also received him at his palace with the utmost familiarity, and allowed him an unreserved indulgence of that frank sincerity which was a principal feature in the abbot's character. It was from the great regard he bore him, that this king was induced to present to the Church of Westminster many sacred and precious relics*.

* These pious gifts are represented as consisting of the arm of St. Orias, and relics of St. Edward, king and martyr; a finger of St. Alphage, and a similar member of St. Gregory, with some of his bones.

During the period of his abbacy, his royal friend and protector, as well as his son Harold, afterwards named Harefoot, from his swiftness in running, both died. The latter was buried in this abbey; but, in the course of the same year, his body is said to have been torn, with the utmost indignity, from its grave; and, after suffering decapitation, to have been thrown into the Thames.

This abbot had not only obtained the favour of Canute, but appears to have been distinguished, also, by the regard of his two immediate successors, Harold Harefoot and Hardicanute, who possessed few or any of the virtues of his first patron, but an attachment to the church. Nor did he fail to employ his influence with these successive princes, to preserve his monastery in a state of protection and security; which heightened the veneration paid to his character by all ranks of people.

He lived to see the restoration of the Saxon line, in the person of King Edward the Confessor; from whom he obtained a grant of lands to his abbey, in which he is specially entitled *fidelissimus noster*, &c. He did not live, however, to witness the rebuilding of the church by that pious monarch; as it appears that he died on the 19th of October, in the year 1049, when Edward began to carry into execution the magnificent design which he had some time meditated, and was now determined to accomplish*.

No other circumstance is mentioned respecting the Church of Westminster during this period, but that, in the year 1042, Harold Harefoot was buried there, and that its sanctity was violated by the impious removal of his remains.

The benefactions to this monastery now appear to have become rather considerable; and though the account of them may not be thought to justify an entire

* Florence of Worcester, p. 226.

dependance, they are still sufficient to prove the pious favour with which the church had been regarded by different princes from its first institution. This will appear from the following statement of its possessions, previous to the reign of its great protector and, as he may with justice be styled, refounder, Edward the Confessor*.

Three hides and a half of land about the monastery, which is confirmed by Edward the Confessor as one of the early grants of his predecessor. This and the three following properties have been conjecturally imagined to be the gift of King Sebert.

Stanes, or, according to the Saxon name, *Stana,* in the county of Middlesex, is also supposed to have been granted by that prince to this church; as King Edgar, in a subsequent grant of it, mentions its having formerly belonged to the Church at Westminster, though he states the immediate gift of it as proceeding from himself. It was afterwards confirmed by King Edward the Confessor, and since by William the Conqueror. Edward II. also gave to the abbot and monks of Westminster the liberty of hunting in the land which that monastery possessed in Stanes.

Tuddington, called also *Toddington,* and which is now known by the name of *Teddington,* a small village on the banks of the Thames, near Hampton Court, in the county of Middlesex, is described as an appurtenant to Stanes in one of the charters of King Edgar, and in another is mentioned by itself. It is thought also

* This statement is principally taken from Dart's *History of St. Peter's, Westminster.* That writer certainly possessed the means of acquiring all the information now extant, respecting the church of which he is the historian; but he does not appear to have been endued with the patience necessary to antiquarian enquiries, or the essential faculty, in pursuing them, of elucidating an obscure, and unravelling an intricate, subject; or, which is equally necessary, of detecting a falsehood.

to be one of the grants of King Sebert to the Church of Westminster. The endowment, however uncertain its origin, was confirmed by King Edgar, and afterwards by Edward the Confessor, who is said by some, though erroneously, to have been the original donor. It consisted only of a farm; but was in itself a chapelry, and subject to the church of Stanes, which, as well as the manor, belonged at that time to the abbot and monks of Westminster.

Land at *Halgefort*, or *Halweford*, and at *Ecclesfort*, or *Ecclesford*, appertaining likewise to Stanes; and also land at *Feltham*, close the account of the dubious gifts of the same king. He is likewise supposed to have made a grant of the church, which King Edgar, at the request of St. Dunstan, confirmed, with the places already mentioned as appurtenances. This gift was further confirmed by Edward the Confessor to the Church of Westminster.

On the death of Sebert, his three sons, Sexred, Seward, and Segebert, openly professed the pagan religion, which they had nourished in secret during the life of their father. After their example, the East Saxons reverted to paganism; and, during an interval of several succeeding reigns, the church does not appear to have received any particular mark of royal regard.

The next benefactor to this church is said to have been Offa, King of Mercia; who, having acquired the renown of a conqueror by his victories, wished to superadd a character for piety by acts of religious munificence; or, perhaps, to atone by them for the crimes which he had committed. According to Sulcardus, this prince repaired and enlarged the Church of Westminster; and, in the language of that historian, having a great reverence for St. Peter, he, as a mark of his devout regard to the structure which was dedicated to that apostle, deposited within it the coronation robes and regalia; and having, as a propitiation for his atrocious murder of Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, levied a tax upon the people of

England, called *Rome-scot*, more generally known by the name of *Peter's pence*, he exempted the Church of Westminster from the payment of it*.

Offa is said to have confirmed to this church the donations of Stanes, and to have added himself to its possessions, *Blekingham*, or *Bleccingam*, in the parish of Heandune, in the county of Middlesex, which was first confirmed by King Edgar, and afterwards by Edward the Confessor, among other lands in Heandune. *Tottenhall*, in Berwick, consisting of three hides of land, received the confirmation of the latter pious monarch. *Hame* was confirmed by the charter of King Edgar, and afterwards by Edward the Confessor, when it is represented as containing two hides of land; and was a second time confirmed, with certain privileges, by the same prince. *Fentyn* also received the successive confirmations of Edgar and Edward the Confessor. There does not, however, appear to be any of

* Ralph Higden mentions, in his *Polychronicon*, though without quoting any authority, that Ina, King of the West Saxons, first established Rome-scot, or Peter's pence. The bigotry of that prince, and the closing his life in the obscurity of a cell, and in the habit of a monk, at Rome, may justify, at least, the probability of such a donation to the pope. This was a tax of a penny on every house or family possessed of thirty pence a year, payable to the holy see, for the maintenance, as we are told by some authors, of a college for English students at Rome; which, Bale says, was built by Offa, King of the Mercians; and, indeed, to that monarch the tax of Peter's pence is attributed by the best historians. That such a tax was once paid is without dispute; but it is much more probable, that it was obtained by the arts of the clergy, working on the weakness of their princes; it being at first purely eleemosynary, till, from custom, they claimed it as a right; it being the well-known craft of the papacy to convert alms into revenues. This opinion becomes the more probable from the silence observable in the most authentic collections of councils, and of the elder and contemporary authors. As churchmen had the penning of whatever was written in that and some succeeding ages, there is no doubt but they would have marked it with a very striking distinction, had this tax been regularly granted by the consent of the states of the kingdom; especially when it is considered how many matters of inferior moment are so minutely handed down in those collections.

the ordinary and assumed authorities for ascertaining the original donor of the two last estates. No grants or documents are known to be extant respecting them. But it is generally supposed, that they were given to the church by Offa, who, after the very short reign of Egfar, or Egfrid, succeeded to the crown of Mercia; or by Kenulph, another of the Mercian kings: as they are stated, in the charter of Edgar, to have been the gifts of former princes.

About the time of this king, the manor of *Aldenham*, in the county of Hertford, is supposed to have been given to the Monastery of St. Peter. Who the actual donor was, cannot now be ascertained; but that it was a very ancient donation appears by Edward the Confessor's confirmation of it, which states, that it should continue to be held by that monastery in the same manner as in the time of the second Orthbright, who became abbot of this church in the year 785.

Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments*, mentions, but, as he acknowledges, from information only, that, in the south wall of Aldenham church, were the proportions of two women cut in stone; the effigies of two sisters buried there, who were builders of the church and coheiresses of the lordship, which, at their death, they gave to the abbot and convent of Westminster. But this account is altogether improbable, as the church bears not the marks of coeval antiquity, nor was it the practice to decorate tombs with that kind of sculpture in the age of Offa.

The original grant of Aldenham received also a latter confirmation from William the Conqueror*.

Kenulph, King of Mercia, is also named as a benefactor to this church. He is represented by the historians as of a pious disposition; and is honourably mentioned by them, for making restitution of certain rich possessions which had fallen into the hands of his predecessor, Offa, and had been dismembered from Christ Church, Canterbury. This prince is mentioned, in a charter of King Edgar,

* See note, p. 30.

as having granted many privileges to the Monastery of Westminster, and to have presented it with ornaments of various kinds. In an existing document, bearing the character of a charter of Archbishop Dunstan, he is likewise said to have manifested his bounty by a grant of lands and in other gifts*.

In the same charter, whatever its authority may be, Alfred is added to the beneficent princes who displayed their pious bounty to the Church of Westminster. It is there generally stated, that he presented it with gifts and lands; but the particulars of them are not known. It has, however, been supposed, that the lands at *Wennington*, or *Winnington*, in Essex, which were confirmed by King Edgar, and afterwards by Edward the Confessor, were the gift of that renowned monarch.

Dunstan, then Bishop of London, is also named among the earliest benefactors to this church; which having shared the fate of many other religious structures from the devastations of the Danes, and being thus reduced to little more than a heap of ruins, that prelate employed the commanding influence which he had acquired over the mind of King Edgar, to induce that monarch to favour it with his protecting support and beneficence. It is said, also, that Dunstan himself had previously become its benefactor; and that, having caused the priests to be ejected from their situations in the church, and called monks from Glastonbury to supply their places, according to his favourite principle of conventual government, he built several houses for their reception, and endowed the church with possessions for their maintenance. For this purpose, some of the monastic historians mention his having purchased of King Edward *Loyerlege*, or *Loyersley;* and also five houses in *Bleccenham*, a place which he had already given to the monastery. He is also said to have presented it with one hundred and twenty *mancuses* of gold†.

* *Cart. Dunstani.*

† A *mancus*, so called from *manu cusa*, stamped or struck with the hand, is an ancient coin of the value of a mark, which, among the Saxons, contained thirty of their pence, in value six shillings.

But Dunstan seems not to have trusted entirely to his own power over the royal mind, to incite it to acts of pious munificence, as it appears that he called in the aid of the papal authority, to give an added ardour to the king's beneficent disposition, by applying to the court of Rome to issue a bull for that purpose. Pope John XIII. accordingly, in compliance with the request of Dunstan, addressed a letter to Edgar, dated at Ravenna, which begins thus: "*Johannes, Episcopus Romæ, Edgaro filio suo,*" &c. On the receipt of this bull, the king published a charter, by which, after reciting the history of the church, the princes who had been its benefactors, and the bull of Pope John, he confirms the former grants of *Hame, Winnington, Fentyn, Aldenham, Blakenham,* or *Bleccenham,* and *Loyerlege;* and then adds, as his own royal gift to the monastery, the following estates*.

At what time the mark was increased to thirteen shillings and four-pence is uncertain: it is known, however, to have obtained that current worth in 1194, in the reign of King John. Camden is of opinion, that the *mancus* and the *mark* are the same coin, as *manca* and *mancusa* are translated *mark* in several ancient authors.

* That Dunstan was a distinguished friend to, and patron of, the Church of Westminster, is an indisputable fact; and that, from his high ecclesiastical stations, popular character, and the influence he had acquired over some of the princes in whose time he lived, he possessed the most ample means of fulfilling his wishes respecting it, must be equally acknowledged. Edgar seems to have been especially devoted to him. "It is you, Dunstan," said that monarch, in a council of the prelates and heads of religious houses; "it is you, by whose advice I have founded monasteries, "built churches, and expended my treasure in the support of religion and religious houses. You were "my counsellor and assistant in all my schemes: you were the director of my conscience: to you I "was obedient in all things. When did you call for supplies which I refused you? Was my as- "sistance ever wanting to the poor? Did I deny support and establishments to the clergy and the "convents? Did I not hearken to your instructions, who told me, that these charities were, of all "others, the most grateful to my Maker; and fixed a perpetual fund for the support of religion?" &c. &c.

Holewell, or *Holwel,* in the county of Hereford; is said to contain six hides and a half of land, and was confirmed by Edward the Confessor. It continued in the possession of the abbot and monks of this monastery till its dissolution in the reign of Henry VIII. who continued it in the bishopric of Westminster, which he had then created: but when Edward VI. thought fit to dissolve that see, he granted this land by patent to Nicholas Ridley, then Bishop of London, and his successors. But on the untimely and lamentable death of the young king, his bigotted successor, Queen Mary, displaced Bishop Ridley, and set aside the grant. When,

A principal feature in the public life of Dunstan, was his support of monachism; in which his ambition, as well as his superstition, was most likely to be gratified, from the firm and active support he was sure to receive from the court of Rome, in advancing a system, which, combined with the celibacy of the clergy, was the great object of papal policy, as it proved the most effectual engine of the papal power and dominion. The particulars, however, of Dunstan's benefactions to Westminster Abbey, are by no means clearly ascertained; any more than those of the princes who preceded his time. That powerful churchman, who was made a saint by the monks, and whose birth and death were, in their history of him, accompanied by all the splendour of miracles, was not, as may be supposed, without enemies among the secular clergy, whom he so grievously oppressed. By some of them it is said, perhaps with equal truth, that, having been raised by King Edred to the office of his treasurer, he embezzled large sums of public money, and was thereby enabled to carry on works surpassing royal magnificence. The charter, indeed, which bears the name of Dunstan, is still extant, but of its being a spurious instrument, no antiquary seems to have expressed a doubt. The same character is also attributed to the greatest part of the charters which pretend, at least, to coeval antiquity; and are now considered as the inventions of the monks, and not always, it is to be feared, for pious purposes. The charter even of Edward the Confessor, which bears date 1065, so frequently alluded to, is reasonably suspected. At the same time, these ancient documents are not without their use; for, though they have assumed a false character, it was the interest of those who fabricated them, to give them a claim to authority, by detailing circumstances which were well known, or generally believed. This charter of Edward the Confessor may be a forgery; but, at all events, it is a very ancient one, and appears to give a very good historical account of the possessions of the church.

however, she restored Bonner to the see, she renewed the grant of the land to it, and obtained the confirmation of the pope.

Dacewrth, Dackwrth, Dakeword, and *Dakenword,* now *Datchworth,* in Herefordshire, which Edward the Confessor confirmed: in his charter it is described as containing four hides of land and one rod. That king also granted it certain privileges and exemptions, as appears by his letters directed to Lonord, Bishop, and Beorn, Earl. It likewise received the confirmation of William the Conqueror. This place continued in the abbey till the dissolution; and, after being subjected to the same changes as *Holwell,* was also finally granted to the Bishop of London.

Watton, in the same county, is said to have contained four hides and a half. It was confirmed by Edward the Confessor, who granted it several exemptions.

Chillington, or *Shillington,* containing three hides of land, was confirmed also by Edward the Confessor. William the Conqueror is likewise said to have granted to the abbot of Westminster the privileges of the chase in his lands at Chillington, and five houses.

King Edgar receives the gratitude of the monks for having presented to this church several splendid presents, to the value of fifty shekels of gold, as well as the rebuilding a great part of the monastery some time previous to his death in the year 995.

Dunstan, however, according to the charters which pass under his name, not only instigated that king to become such a distinguished patron to the Church of Westminster, but was himself also a considerable benefactor to it. In one of these charters, he grants many privileges to this monastery; exempts it from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, and anathematizes all his successors in that see, as well as all others, who should presume to infringe its rights: lastly, he releases it from the tax of *Rome-scot,* or *Peter's pence;* after the examples of the Kings Offa, Kenulph, and Edgar.

By another of these charters, he appears to have settled the following lands upon it.

Hendon, or *Heandune,* in the county of Middlesex, to which the former gifts of Blakenham, Cowenlaw, and Loyersley appertained. This grant received the confirmation of King Edward by a charter, in which it is described as containing twenty hides. This manor is represented as having continued in the possession of the monastery to the dissolution; when it was given by Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Herbert. But the abbot and monks of Westminster were not only possessed of the manor of *Hendon;* they were also patrons of the church there, which was a rectory and a vicarage. The former was a sinecure, in the gift of the conventual chapter, who admitted to it with the chapel of Hampstead annexed. The vicarage was in the gift of the rectors till the year 1478, when the abbot and convent assumed to themselves the right of presentation, and held it to the dissolution; at which time it came to the crown, and, with the rectory, was passed to Sir Thomas Herbert.

Hanewell, or *Hanwell,* in the county of Middlesex; whose manor King Edward the Confessor confirmed to this church, and in the charter it is said to contain eight hides. It continued in the possession of the abbot and convent to the dissolution; when Henry VIII. annexed it to his new bishopric of Westminster, which being suppressed by Edward VI. his successor, Queen Mary, gave it to Bishop Bonner and his successors for ever.

Paddington, in the county of Middlesex, is said to have contained two hides of land. King Stephen, and afterwards Henry II. confirmed this manor, and the liberties usually granted with it: nor did it undergo any change till it passed, with so many other possessions of this monastery, at the dissolution, to Henry VIII.'s newly created bishopric of Westminster; on the extinction of which by Edward VI. that monarch gave both the place and the manor to Ridley, Bishop of London, and his successors for ever.

Mereton, Merton, or *Mordune,* in the county of Surry. This manor was confirmed by Edward the Confessor, in whose charter it is mentioned as containing twenty hides. Several privileges were afterwards added to it by the same prince, and it received a final confirmation from William the Conqueror.

Pereham, Perham, or *Parham,* containing seven hides of land, received also the confirmation of Edward the Confessor. That monarch is also said to have increased the value of Dunstan's gift, by certain privileges and exemptions. In a subsequent charter of King Stephen, it is called, with an added confirmation, the manor of *Perham.*

Cowell and *Ewell.* The latter received the Confessor's confirmation; in which it is represented as containing two hides. It was favoured also with various exemptions and privileges from the same royal bounty.

Sceperton, or *Sheperton,* in the county of Middlesex: a possession of eight hides of land, confirmed by a charter of Edward the Confessor, with a grant of extensive privileges. Henry I. favoured it also with an additional confirmation.

It is mentioned in Dunstan's charter, that the Bishop of Winchester, of that period, gave ten houses.

It is also stated, that Welroys, one of the king's knights, gave the sum of one hundred and eighty pounds, and three *casatas,* or houses, to this church.

On the death of Edgar, his son Edward succeeded to the throne, for which he was in a great measure indebted to the courage and popular influence of Dunstan. It is natural, therefore, to consider him as a probable benefactor to the Church of Westminster, which was such a distinguished object of that prelate's regard. Accordingly there appears, in a charter of the Confessor, a confirmation of grants made to it by the young king, though they are not particularly specified.

The following places, however, are supposed to have been given by him, or his

successor, Ethelred, who was likewise a benefactor to this church, and is described as such in his son the Confessor's charter, though his grants are not specially named.

Leosne, or *Lesnes,* in Kent; which King Edward the Confessor confirmed, by letters addressed to Leofwine, Earl of Kent, and others. It afterwards received the successive confirmations of William the Conqueror and Henry I.

Sunbury, or *Sundbury,* in the county of Middlesex, containing seven hides of land, is confirmed by the Confessor. It also received several privileges and exemptions from Henry II. The manor of Sunbury, in which the land was situated, belonged to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's.

Fenton Parva, containing one hide of land.

Littleton, or *Littlyngton,* in the county of Middlesex, containing two hides of land.

Hanwrth, or *Hanwarth,* in the same county, containing four hides;—and

Sypenham, in the parish of East Burnham, with the same quantity of land.

These places were all of them confirmed by Edward the Confessor; and the latter received an additional confirmation from William the Conqueror, by which it is denominated *Chippenham.*

East Burcnham, or *East Burnham,* in the county of Middlesex, with *Retherwick,* contained four hides of land, and was reconfirmed by William the Conqueror.

Hampstead, in the county of Middlesex, was the gift of King Ethelred, and confirmed by his son, the Confessor. The church of this parish, which was formerly a chapel to Hendon, was likewise in the gift of the abbot and convent of Westminster, as rectors of Hendon, which has been already mentioned: but, in the year 1478, they made it a curacy, separate from Hendon; and it continued in the gift of the chapter till its suppression, when it was settled by Henry VIII. on his bishopric of Westminster. Edward VI. however, afterwards granted it, with the manor, to Sir Thomas Wroth, of Durance.

Grenfort, Greenford, Greenwood, or *Greenford Magna,* in the county of Middlesex. It contained twelve hides of land and one rod; and was confirmed by Edward

the Confessor, who granted it many privileges. This manor, with the advowson of the rectory, was seized by Henry VIII. at the dissolution, and continued in the possession of the crown till Edward VI. granted the manor to the Bishop of of London and his successors for ever.

The rectory had been previously granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Wroth.

Five hides of land at *Killeveden*, in the county of Essex, were also confirmed by the Confessor's charter.

Kingsbury, in the county of Middlesex, containing two hides and a half of land. This manor Edward the Confessor confirmed, as the gift of one of his predecessors. The name, indeed, imports, that it had been the demesne of some of the Saxon princes.

Asewell, or *Escewell*, or, as it is now called, *Ashwell*, in Herefordshire, is supposed to have been given to the Church of Westminster by Edgar, though it is not mentioned in his charter. It is certain, however, that it was a village, and in the possession of the Saxons; some of whom, previous to the reign of Edward the Confessor, gave both the manor and the village to the abbot and monks of this church, which gift that prince confirmed by his charter.

In *Domesday Book*, the abbot of Westminster is said to hold *Esewell* for six hides: and it is further mentioned, that Peter de Valonges, Vice-comes, held of the abbot half a hide there, and Goisfrid de Maundeville one rod and a mill. At the suppression of the abbey, Henry VIII. converted it into a deanery, continued the manor to it, and annexed it to the bishopric of Westminster. Edward VI. however, on dissolving that see, granted it to Ridley, Bishop of London. After another change in that prelacy, by Queen Mary, her majesty obtained a licence from the pope, to settle it on the bishops of London for ever*.

* Dart's *History of St. Peter's, Westminster*, vol. I. p. 7, &c.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

FROM THE TIME OF THE SECOND BUILDING OF THE CHURCH, BY KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT STRUCTURE.

The early part of our ecclesiastical history is so interwoven with legendary tales and other monkish inventions, that it is impossible to proceed in it without paying an attention to them, which, to use the expression of Hooker, such frivolous and scandalous vanities cannot, in reality, be thought to deserve. The first accounts of Westminster Abbey are almost entirely of this nature; and it seems, in common with other religious institutions of a coeval period and a similar character, to have been, in some degree at least, indebted for the high sanctity of its establishment, its increasing possessions, and architectural improvements, to the pious impressions which originated in the sanctified artifices of the monks, and the superstitious credulity of the age.

It would, therefore, be considered as an omission, which could not admit of a reasonable excuse, if the first historians of this church were to be passed by without particular notice; though their narratives may be formed to excite, in the enlightened mind, any sentiments rather than those of assent and reliance. Besides, as these records, however fallacious or even ridiculous they may be, appear to have had their full effect when they were written; and with whatever surprise, or less favourable emotion, they may be now considered, it will be generally ex-

pected, that they should be found among the historical circumstances of the period when their authenticity, however ignorantly, was allowed: while the antiquary would, surely, consider the narrative as imperfect from which they were discarded. At all events, they may be regarded as worthy of attention as the grotesque sculptures which still remain, the monuments of a fanciful superstition, in several of our ancient monastic and cathedral structures. No small importance was added to this, as well as to other religious establishments, by the supposed, and, at the same time, credible, intervention of supernatural agents and circumstances; which have, therefore, already been, as they will ever, more or less, continue to be, noticed in history.

The next epocha in the progressive advancement of this abbey church, is accompanied with very dubious, as they are extraordinary, relations, which the historians of those times confidently relate, and to which general allusions have been already made.

In the year 1016, Ethelred concluded an unhappy and inglorious reign of thirty-five years. His successor, Edmund Ironside, possessed courage and abilities sufficient to have prevented his country from sinking into calamities, but not to raise it from the abyss of misery into which it had already fallen. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he was compelled to draw his sword to defend it; and the church had its full share of suffering in the devastating wars that followed. On the death of Edmund, who did not long enjoy the tranquillity which he had at length obtained, Canute, his successor, is said to have rebuilt, or repaired, all the religious places which had been despoiled during his wars, and, among the rest, the Church of Westminster; as appears by a charter of Edward the Confessor to the Abbot Wulnoth, concerning the jurisdiction of the city of London.

Such is the account given by Sporley, who continues to relate, that Canute,

having taken Wulnoth into his favour and confidence, was influenced, by that ecclesiastic's recommendation, to give proofs of his favour to this church: *hujus etiam amore predictus rex locum istum crebius visitavit et multas sanctorum reliquias eidem condonavit.* These have been already mentioned.

But though this abbey had found successive, and even royal, protectors, it did not attain to any high degree of monastic character, till the Confessor was induced to aggrandize it. This pious determination is said to have originated in a vow which Edward, while the throne on which he afterwards sat in peace and tranquillity for twenty-five years, was an object of uncertain attainment. It is related, that, during the Danish usurpation, and when he had sought the asylum of a foreign country, he most solemnly declared, if it should please God to put an end to his troubles, that he would undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, and visit the body of St. Peter.

Nor when he became king did he forget the sacred obligation which he had bound himself to perform. He accordingly assembled a council of prelates and nobles, and made known his intention to them in the following manner.

He said that he had been reduced to the lowest condition, and forced to fly from the Danish usurpation, to live an exile in Normandy, with very little probability of ever returning home. Yet, in the midst of all his troubles, he relied on the divine goodness; and had vowed, whenever the opportunity was offered him, to make a pilgrimage to Rome, in honour of the holy apostle St. Peter. That as it had now pleased God in his mercy to restore him to the throne of his ancestors, and place him there in peace and plenty, he thought it his bounden duty, to express his gratitude to Heaven by the immediate performance of an oath which he had most solemnly and devoutly taken. He accordingly requested them to propose some method of administering the affairs of the kingdom in his absence.

and nominate such persons as they thought were the best qualified to represent him during his proposed visit to the holy father*.

The nobility and prelates, however, were so very apprehensive that the Danes would take advantage of Edward's absence, to distress the kingdom with fresh wars, that they represented his design as pregnant with disastrous consequences; and while they expressed their alarms on the occasion, the common people are said to have employed tears to dissuade him from a journey, that not only threatened him with danger, but the kingdom with calamity. He was, therefore, most humbly and earnestly implored to send an embassy to Rome, to obtain a dispensation of the pope for the remission of his vow.

To this proposition the king was, at length, though with great difficulty, prevailed upon to consent; and accordingly Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, was appointed to this office, with an honourable retinue of eminent persons in church and state, suited to the important occasion.

On the arrival of the episcopal ambassador at Rome, he represented to Pope Leo IX. the dangers which were apprehended from King Edward's performance of his vow; and, with all humility, entreated his holiness to propose some way of quieting his majesty's conscience, without exposing himself and his people to such imminent hazard.

The pope, it seems, gave his most willing consent to the object of the embassy; and accordingly addressed a letter to the king, in which his holiness informed him, that he had transmitted an absolution from his vow, with a pardon for all his faults and negligences. He then especially enjoined him, on his obedience, to bestow the proposed expences of his intended journey to Rome on the poor; and either to repair some decayed monastery, or erect a new one to the honour

* Alured Vitalis *in Vita Ed. Confess.* p. 379.

of St. Peter. To all the privileges and exemptions which the king should be pleased to grant on such an occasion, he gave also a previous confirmation.

On the return of the embassy from its Italian expedition, Edward is said to have been so much delighted with the tidings it brought of grace and favour from the pope, that, in the first emotions of joy, he released his kingdom from the tax of *Dane-gelt**.

In this state of mind, it may reasonably be imagined, that the king was not only ready, but anxious, to perform the penance which had been commanded by the supreme head of the church. While, however, it was a matter of anxious consideration in the royal bosom what monastery or religious edifice he should prefer, in order to realize his solemn obligations, his historian proceeds to relate, that the monarch was relieved from any difficulty in the choice, by an event which is represented as a miraculous interposition. It is stated, that, most opportunely for the occasion, one Wulsine†, a monk of Westminster, who was remarkable for the simplicity of his manners, and had led a life of such pure holiness, that he was afterwards canonized, received, as he slept, a communication from St. Peter, that King Edward should repair and beautify the church to which the distinguished ecclesiastic himself belonged. The apostle is said to have delivered his command in the following manner:—"I have a place on the western side of

* The remission of this heavy imposition arose from very different motives than those to which, with their usual policy, it was attributed by the monks. Nor did this act of national relief take place till the middle of the Confessor's reign, when the banishment of that powerful, troublesome, and dangerous subject, the Earl Godwin, gave the king a fair prospect of peace and tranquillity, and thereby enlarged the means of gratifying himself in the indulgence of that beneficent disposition, which was a predominant feature in his character.

† It seems as if Wulsine the monk was confounded with the abbot of the same name.

" London, which I chose for myself, and wherein I delight. I formerly conse-
" crated it with my own hands, ennobled it with my presence, and rendered it
" illustrious by divine miracles. The name of the place is Thorney, which,
" having been, on account of the sins of the people, given up to the fury of
" barbarians, from being rich, is become poor; from being stately, is become
" low; and from being an object of veneration, is regarded with contempt.
" This edifice let the king, by my command, repair, and make a house of
" monks; adorn it with stately towers, and endow it with large revenues; when
" it shall become the house of God, and the gates of heaven."

Such is the monkish account of the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey by Edward the Confessor; nor is it altogether at variance with the pious credulity and fervid imagination which, according to every historian of the period, marked his character. A superstitious man in a superstitious age may be, indeed, considered as subject to any influence that appears to proceed from superior revelation, more especially when it tends to advance the prevailing desire of his heart*.

Whether this history is altogether an invention, or that the supernatural part of it alone was artfully contrived to impose on the willing and submissive faith of the king; or whether a fanatic, melancholy monk, continually brooding over the distressed and ruinous state of his cloister, had been actually visited by such a dream, is not a question that will justify any considerate reflection. The devout monarch, however, is said to have given his confirmation of it by a subsequent charter,

* Among other examples of the superstitious character of this prince, it is related by his historian, that the execrations of his subjects against the payment of *Dane-gelt* having heated his fancy, he assigned, as a reason for remitting it, his having seen the devil dancing in the treasury, on the very bags which contained the money collected for that tribute.

wherein he appears to acknowledge the dream, as an impelling motive to undertake the great and pious work which he then meditated. By this instrument he is made to declare, " St. Peter has revealed his pleasure to a certain monk of a " holy character, named Wulsine, that I should rebuild the place called West- " minster, founded in the time of St. Augustin, the first English bishop, and " honoured by the bounty of several kings in old time; and which, in conse- " quence of its antiquity, and the devastations it suffered in the wars, seems to " have been almost destroyed."

But whatever might be the real cause in which his purpose originated, Edward did not delay to carry it into effect; and, in the charter already mentioned, he declares, that he has reserved a tenth part of his estates for the completion of his design. " Itaque decimari præcepi omnem substantiam meam tam in auro et " argentò, quam in pecudibus et omni genere possessionis, et destruens veterem, " novam a fundamentis basilicam construxi." He accordingly, in the place of the old church, which appears, from the most favourable account of it, to have been an inferior structure, erected another in a style of great magnificence for that age, and worthy of the piety on which the royal builder's renown has been established.

One of the charters which bears the name of King Edward, confirms all the gifts of his predecessors to the Abbey of Westminster, and declares the grant of many of his own. It recites the usurpations of Swein, Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute, with the cruel murder of his brother Elfred; and states, that he himself was only saved like young Josiah. It mentions his vow when he was an exile in foreign countries; his people's entreaties to dissuade him from performing it; his embassy to the pope; the pope's answer; and the relation of Wulsine's vision. It then describes the ravages which the monastery had suffered from the Danes; and

proceeds to release it from all services; confirms the grants of lands about the abbey, as Tottenhall, Tacewell, Knightsbridge, &c.; and lastly, describes his own particular benefactions.

Another charter is declared to have been granted, after the king had procured a bull of confirmation from Pope Leo. This mentions his having presented to the new monastery, two pieces of the cross, and part of one of the nails which Martin and Leo, who were bishops, gave to Elfred, and by him were transferred to Charlemagne, whose daughter Ethelwolf married; with the coat of our Saviour, the clothes of the blessed virgin, and relics of St. Peter and St. Paul, of Bartholomew and Barnabas, and many other canonized persons. It then confirms the grants of Edgar, Edward the Martyr his son, Ethelred his father, and St. Dunstan; frees it from all secular power; secures to the monks, according to the laws of St. Benedict, the privilege of chusing an abbot from among themselves; and concludes with confirming the grants of his predecessors, himself, and his friends. By the charter to Wulnoth, that abbot and his convent are exempted from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London and his clerks; and it is thereby further declared, that all such as may presume to disturb them, shall be liable to a forfeiture of twenty pounds: a very heavy penalty in those days.

Westminster Abbey being at length rebuilt with its expected magnificence, King Edward granted it a charter of privileges; and, in order to clothe that instrument with peculiar power and sanctity, he thought it necessary to send an especial embassy to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining the pope's bull of confirmation.

The ambassadors upon this occasion were, Aldred, Archbishop of York, Tosti, son of Earl Godwin, Giso, Bishop of Wells, and Walter, Bishop of Hereford. Nicholas II. who was then pope, received them with great distinction; and gave the most favourable attention to the business with which they were charged. By

their credentials they were authorized to request of his holiness, his sanctifying permission to establish the new Church of Westminster, as a place appointed for the inauguration of our kings, as well as to render it perpetual for the monks of the order of St. Benedict, who should be subject to no jurisdiction but that of the king. The pope accordingly manifested his approbation of their request; and issued a bull, addressed, in the following terms, to King Edward:—" Nicho- " laus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, gloriosissimo ac piissimo omniumque ho- " nore dignissimo, spirituali quoque filio nostro Edwardo Anglorum regi visitati- " onem omnimodam, salutem mellifluam, et benedictionem apostolicam," &c. &c.

By this bull, the pope discharged the monastery from all episcopal authority and visitation; and also set apart for it a burial-ground, which was to be exempt from the payment of the usual dues. He then proceeds to confirm the charters; and concludes with appointing the king to be patron of the abbey*.

The last act of the Confessor's pious regard to this church, and which may, in

* Some of the historians, in their relation of this transaction, mention the following curious occurrence.—The ambassadors, at a small distance from Rome, on their return home, were attacked by a numerous banditti, who not only robbed, but stripped them. Tosti, who had conceived a high opinion of the pope, from the stately manner in which he gave them audience, and the dignified air he assumed on all occasions, was very loud in his expressions of surprise, that persons should be found of such daring and audacious characters, as to rob, even at the gates of Rome, persons of their high mission, and who had received such peculiar distinction from his holiness. He, however, returned to that city to equip himself again for his journey, as well as to obtain redress; but being disappointed in the latter, he very unceremoniously told the pope, that he believed his holiness was in concert with the gang which had robbed him; and boldly demanded his effects to be restored, or he would call on King Edward to stop in his own hands St. Peter's-pence, and indemnify him for his loss out of it. When it was answered, that those robberies were very common, he expressed his astonishment, how the court of Rome could suppose for a moment, that a foreign power would ever regard the papal thunder, when it had not the strength to disperse an inconsiderable gang of rogues, who were robbing

some degree, be considered as the last act of his life, was the consecration of it. Accordingly, at the close of the year 1065, he is said to have summoned a great council, to confirm the charter by which he endowed the royal foundation; when Queen Editha, with all the lords both spiritual and temporal, assisted at the solemnity.

The charter, after the recital of the pope's bull, contains this clause:—"The "king, for the expiation of his own vow, and also for the souls of the kings his "predecessors, as well as successors, has granted to Westminster Abbey all man- "ner of liberty, as far as earthly power could reach; and that for the love of God, "by whose mercy he was placed on the royal throne: and now, by the council "and decree of the archbishops, bishops, earls, and others of his great men; "and for the benefit and advantage of the said church, and all those who should "belong to it, he has granted these privileges following, not only in present, but "for future times." Then succeeds an exemption from all episcopal jurisdiction; and also another clause, where he grants it the privilege of sanctuary:—"So that "any one, of whatsoever condition he be, or for whatsoever cause, who shall fly "unto that holy place, or the precincts thereof, shall be free and obtain full "liberty." It concludes in the following manner:—"I have commanded this "charter to be written and sealed; and have also signed it with my hand, with "the sign of the cross, and have ordered fit witnesses to subscribe it, for its greater "corroboration." The king's subscription then follows in these words:—"Ego "Edwardus, Deo largiente, Anglorum rex, signum venerandæ crucis impressi."

at the very gates of Rome. This high language, it is said, greatly astonished the pope; but he was too well acquainted with the character of Tosti, which was daring, impetuous, and without principle, not to apprehend that he would carry his threats into execution. An accommodation, therefore, took place between them.

The subscription of Queen Editha then succeeds, with those of the two archbishops, seven of the bishops, and as many of the abbots. Next follow the names of the laity;—of Raynbald, Chancellor, and of the Earls Harold and Edwin, who write themselves dukes; with those of six thanes, besides others of an inferior order.

There is another charter of the same nature with the former, containing Edward's letters to Pope Nicholas, with the bull of the latter, which has been already mentioned. The subscriptions are much in the same succession as those which have been just recited. The only variation that appears, is in the subscriptions of Oswald and another of the king's chaplains, which take place of the lay nobility; and that, besides the thanes, several subscribe under the denomination of *milites*.

The life of Edward now drew nigh to its close. After appearing at the assembly in great pomp and majesty, he was attacked by a slow fever. He endeavoured to conceal his illness for two or three days, and appeared in public at his meals, as was his usual custom. He was convinced, however, that he had not long to live; and accordingly ordered the necessary preparations to be immediately made for the consecration of the church, at which he assisted, with all his spiritual and temporal peers, on the feast of the Holy Innocents. The following day he took to his bed, where he lay delirious for several hours. He then, says the writer of his life, recovered his senses, when his behaviour was very pious and affecting. After recommending to his nobility the care of his Queen Editha, and the servants who had followed him from Normandy, he appointed his body to be buried in St. Peter's, Westminster. The sacrament was then administered to him; and shortly after he breathed his last, on the 5th of January, 1066, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

BENEFACTIONS GIVEN BY THIS PRINCE.

Gystlepe, Gistelhepe, and now *Islip,* in Oxfordshire, being the place of his birth, which he grants, with many privileges, as appears by his letters directed to Wilfred, Bishop, and Gyrth, Earl. He also gave a hide of land at *Merloe,* and half a hide of marsh land belonging to Weod, his chamberlain.

Stanehinga, near *Stanes,* in the county of Middlesex, and some meadow in that parish, with other land, which he was pleased to confirm, together with *Stanes,* by letters directed to William, Bishop, Harold, Earl, and Algar, master of his horse. This land was afterwards confirmed by a charter of King Edward II.

Langetune, in Oxfordshire, confirmed by letters directed to William, Bishop, and Gyrth, Earl.

Windlesore, or *Windsor,* in Berkshire, by letters directed to William, Bishop, and all his earls. This was afterwards exchanged with William the Conqueror.

Stitchnach, or *Stevenage,* in Hertfordshire. The charter does not specify the extent of this gift; but, in *Domesday Book,* the Abbot of Westminster is said to hold, in *Broadwater* hundred, *Stigenace* for eight hides. It continued in the possession of this monastery till its suppression, when Henry VIII. annexed it to the new bishopric. Edward VI. however, granted it afterwards, by patent, to Bishop Ridley, of London, and his successors, in free and perpetual alms; which grant was afterwards annulled by Queen Mary, when she dismissed Ridley from the bishopric; but having obtained a confirmation from the pope, she reunited it to that see.

Roteland, in Hamptuneshire, by letters directed to William, Bishop, and Northman, Sheriff. Of this place some account will be given among the benefactions of William the Conqueror.

Perhin, Dorhust, and *Persora,* as appears by his letters directed to Aldred, the

Archbishop, and Wulston, Bishop, and Wlfi, and to the sheriffs of Wigercestershire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire, with many privileges, which were afterwards confirmed by William the Conqueror.

Brencford, or *Brentford,* in the county of Middlesex, being a chapelry belonging to Hanwell; which, as already mentioned, was the gift of Dunstan, and confirmed by this prince. It continued in the gift of the abbots, met with the same revolutions as Hanwell, and was finally annexed to the bishopric of London.

Totings, which he confirmed with privileges, by letters directed to Stigand, the Archbishop, and Leofwine, Earl, which were afterwards confirmed by charter from King Henry I.

Overslea, confirmed with privileges and exemptions, by his letters directed to Stigand, Archbishop, and Harold, Earl, and Beorth, captain of his horse. This was confirmed by William the Conqueror.

Wheathamstead, or *Whathamstead,* in Hertfordshire.

East-Hampstead, granted by the first charter of the Confessor.

Pecwrth, or *Pecawurth,* in Suffolk, with many immunities and privileges, by his letters directed to Aylmer, Bishop, and Harold, Earl, and Gyrth, Earl, and Leofstan, Abbot.

Suthburgh, in Suffolk, where there was some land also, which was given by Hugoline, the king's chamberlain.

Land at *Ashwell, Stanes,* and *East-Hampstead.*

Cadwell, in Hertfordshire:—it was, after the dissolution, granted, with other lands, to Ridley, Bishop of London, who was disseized of it by Queen Mary, who afterwards granted it to Bonner, his successor, and to the see for ever.

Seventeen *hides* and a half of land about the monastery; part of which was given by former kings, and received the confirmation of Edward.

Tacewell, containing one hide of land; and *Tithurst*, containing two hides, three rods, and twenty-five acres.

King Edward also gave many vestments, as well as suits of furniture, which he offered on the altar; with holy vessels and splendid decorations, requisite for all solemn occasions of worship or public ceremony, and adapted to the character of the church.

BENEFACTORS IN THE TIME OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

Hugoline, the chamberlain or steward, and distinguished favourite of this prince, was one of them, as appears by the grant of Chelmer Forest, which concludes with this singular *teste*:

> **Witness the Bishop Wolstan,**
> **And Book, Alured, many on;**
> **And Swein, of Essex, our brother,**
> **And taken him many other;**
> **And our steward, Hugoline,**
> **That besought me for him.**

He gave three rods of land at *Islip*, and a chapel. He is also said to have prevailed on the king to give certain other lands, which were afterwards confirmed in the king's name.

This Hugoline is the person whom Flete describes in the following honourable terms: "Hugolinus nobilis, principalis Sancti Regis Edwardi cubicularius, "semper Deo devotus, et prædicto regi inter omnes hujus regni proceres, miles "fidelissimus." He was buried in the cloisters of this church. Weever calls it an obscure place; but on the rebuilding of it by Henry III. his body was taken up, with those of Queen Ethelgoda, Eadwine the abbot, and Sulcardus the historian, and

buried with them in a handsome tomb of marble, at the south side of the entrance into the new chapter-house, which, Flete says, was remaining in his time*.

Bishop Wolstan gave *Denham*, with its lands and appurtenances. Leofchild gave *Mulesham*, or *Molesham*, in Essex, with other lands appertaining to it, confirmed by the king's charter, directed to William, Bishop, Harold, Earl, &c.

Agelricus gave lands at *Kelvedune*, or *Kellendune*, in Essex, before mentioned.

Wlwinus gave *Mapledorested*, confirmed by the king's great charter, and afterwards with privileges and exemptions, directed to Elfward, Bishop, and Leofield, Sheriff.

One hide of land at *Lovekensore*.

A certain woman gave one hide of land at *Kingston*.

Alfwine and his wife gave land at *Aygate*, in Hertfordshire, confirmed with

* There is an instance of the good nature and amiable temper of the Confessor related by a writer of his life, in which Hugoline is of the party. The story is as follows:—The king happening to repose one afternoon, with the curtains of the bed drawn closely round him, a servant boy came into the chamber on some occasion, and, perceiving the royal coffers open, filled his pockets with as much money as he could conveniently carry off. Edward saw the thief, but did not chuse to interrupt him. The boy returned again for an additional booty, when the king told him he had better be content with what he had got; for that, if Hugoline should come and detect him, he might chance not only to lose his treasure, but his life also. The thief hastily disappeared; and Hugoline coming in soon after, and discovering the robbery, could not refrain from expressing his anger, when the king desired him to rest contented: "For," said he, "the poor rogue who has taken the "money wants it more than we do." This story was formerly represented on the tapestry hangings of the choir, with the portraits of the king, Hugoline, and the thief. The following verses were annexed:—

Ecce nimis parca furis manus exit ab arcâ;
Celat opus furis, pietas non regula juris.
Tolle quod habes et fuge.

It is likewise wrought in *basso relievo* in the chapel of St. Edward.

privileges, by charter directed to William, Bishop, Leofwine, Earl, &c. This grant was a second time confirmed to this abbey by charter from William the Conqueror.

Leoffi de London gave to this church a hide and a half of land at *Wrmlea*, now *Wormley*, in Hertfordshire, which the king a second time confirms to this church, and grants it privileges, by his letters directed to William, Bishop, and Leofstan, Earl. This land is afterwards confirmed by William the Conqueror.

Thurstan gave *Chilchelle*, or *Chilcheya*, in Middlesex, which he before held of the king, to this convent; which gift is confirmed by the king, in a grant of privileges directed to Robert, Bishop, Olgod, &c. This place was afterwards granted by charter from William the Conqueror, in which it is called *Chelchea*.

Guthmund gave land at *Helveden*, or *Kellden*, in Essex, before mentioned, which was afterwards, among other lands in that place, confirmed by Edward the Confessor's charter; and a second time by William the Conqueror. This Guthmund gave, likewise, land at *Keyne* and *Lacedune*, which received a similar confirmation.

Alser gave land at *Ligetun*, or *Lugetun*; and at *Lersne*, or *Lesnes*, in Kent.

Ingulphus gave lands at *Pecclesham*.

Tofti gave lands at *Claygate*, to which King Stephen granted liberties and immunities, and confirmed those given; as did King Henry II. after him.

Leofric gave *Ingeddesdon*.

Alfwar and his son Siward gave half a hide of land in *Agmondesham*, or *Amersham*, in Buckinghamshire; and one in *Weodune*, or *Watton*.

Alfric gave *Wenstede*, now *Wanstead*, in Essex.

Almundus, or Almodus, being a monk of this church, gave to it *St. Botolph's gate*, in London, called his Lord's Court, with the houses and a wharf at the head of London bridge, in Southwark. This was afterwards confirmed by William

the Conqueror, in his charter to this convent, when Vitalis was the abbot of it.

Leoftan, portreve of London, and his wife, gave to this convent, for their souls' health, land and a wharf in that city; which King Edward the Confessor confirmed by charter, directed to Alfward, Bishop, &c.

Such were the benefactions granted to his monastery by King Edward the Confessor, as well as by several of his pious subjects, who were proud to follow their sovereign's example.

King Edward also granted to the chapter of this church, free liberty over all their lands, wherever they lay, with *sacc* and *socc*, *toll* and *theam*, *infangtheof*, *grithbrech*, *hamsken*, and *forestall**; and that no one should have any power over their lands or tenants, but the abbot and his convent: which great charter of liberties is directed to all his bishops, earls, and thanes, in those counties where these lands lay†.

* These terms may, to some readers, require the following explanation:—*Sacc*, the power of determining causes, and imposing fines and amerciaments, by the lord within his manor.—*Socc*, the power possessed by the lord of holding courts and trying causes in his barony.—*Toll*, the liberty of buying and selling within the precincts of a manor; or tribute or custom paid for passage; or a consideration given for exemption from that tribute.—*Theam*, the power granted to a baron over his tenants or villains, and their possessions, &c.—*Infangtheof* signified the power of trying thieves taken in any one's manor or liberty.—*Grithbrech*, a violation of the peace.—*Hamsken*, a power granted to lords of manors to hold pleas.—*Forestall*, the stopping or assaulting a passenger on the highway.

† Of the authenticity of this charter there can be no doubt. The translation of it in Latin is as follows. The Saxon original will be given in the Appendix.

"Edwardus Rex, saluto meos episcopos, et meos comites, et omnes meos ministros in illis "comitatibus ubi Sanctus Petrus et Abbas Eadwinus habent terram, benevole. Et ego edico vobis, "quod dedi illi saca et socne, telonium et servorum suorum propaginem, pacis infractionem, et

He likewise grants them liberty over their lands in the city of London, which he exempts from all municipal jurisdiction. This charter is directed to William, Bishop, and Leofstan and Alfwy, Portreves, and all his burgesses in London. These charters, conferring such especial liberties, are followed by two others to the same purpose.

BENEFACTIONS SUBSEQUENT TO THE TIME OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, AND PREVIOUS TO THAT OF HENRY III.

The reign of Harold was too short to admit of any display of public beneficence. One act of piety, at least, is recorded of him, which was the endowment of a religious institution at Waltham, in Essex. His successor, however, has been ranked among the best friends and most generous patrons of Westminster Abbey.

William I. better known by the name of the Conqueror, is said, on his arrival in London, after the defeat and death of Harold, to have immediately visited this church, to return thanks for the victory which he had obtained, as well as to mark his regard to the memory of Edward the Confessor. He is accordingly represented to have offered a rich pall to lay on the tomb of that monarch, with two of inferior value, as well as fifty marks of silver; and to have presented to the high altar a rich altar-cloth and two caskets of gold.

The mind of this prince never slept amidst the difficulties of his situation, and his political sagacity was ever awake to the means of lessening or overcoming them. Till he thought himself firmly established on the throne, the state, the

" domus invasionem, et mercatus interceptionem, in festo et extra festum, in burgo et extra, tam " plene et libere quam agomet ipse habui. Et nolo ut liceat, quod quivis homo habeat jus impendi " aliquod in illius terram, vel illius homines, sive in littore, sive in terra, nisi ipse abbas ad hujus " monasterii usum. Deus vos conservat."

church, and the army, all partook of his bounties: and when he ordered the body of the Confessor to be placed in a chest of stone of great value, he naturally expected that such an act of devout regard to the remains of his predecessor, would ingratiate him with the people, by whom the deceased Edward was held in the most profound veneration.

By his first charter to this church, in which he mentions his victory over Harold, and the ornaments he had bestowed on it, he confirms the gifts of his predecessors, and the liberties which they had granted to it.

By other charters he especially confirms the charter of liberties granted by Edward the Confessor, prohibits the Bishop of London from having access to it, and renews the establishment of their liberties in London.

Several other particular charters confirm the gifts and liberties of *Gystlepe*, now *Islip*, in the county of Oxford, where Edward the Confessor was born; the manor of *Mereton*; of land at *Yevena*, *Burnham*, and *Cypenham*, with its appurtenances; the manor of *Overslea*; *Lesnes*, with its lands, meadows, and liberties; land at *Chelchea*; the manors of *Aldenham* and of *Agyte*; land at *Wormlea*; the manors of *Kilvedune* and *Mulesham*; *Persor* and *Dorhurst*; the manor of *Tuddington*; *St. Botolph's gate*; *Watton* and *Dakenwood*. To the Abbot Vitalis, the church lands in Worcestershire, which Wulstan, the Bishop, the Abbot of Evesham, and Rumbald, the Chancellor, had released from certain tenures, &c. All these grants are confirmed, with liberties and privileges, in seventeen charters; some of which are written in Latin, and others in Saxon.

These confirmations are succeeded by the following benefactions from the king himself.

In consequence of his desire to form a forest, and finding Windlesore, or Windsor, then a possession of the Abbey of Westminster, a very convenient spot for hunting, by reason of the pureness of the air, the pleasantness of the situa-

tion, and its neighbourhood to woods and waters, as the charter expresses it; he gives the abbot and monks in exchange for it, *Wokendune*, in the province of the East Saxons, or Essex, in Ceford Hundred; and a house called *Feringes*, in Lexdune Hundred, in the same province. The charter that regulates this exchange, is addressed to William, Bishop, and Swein, Sheriff. But by subsequent charters, having, as it may be supposed, added lands to *Feringes*, he confirms it as a manor; reconfirms that place and *Wokendune*, and grants them both very ample privileges and immunities.

Batrychsea, or *Patrichsea*, now *Battersea*, in Surry: which manor was formerly in the possession of King Harold, as appears by William's charter directed to Stigand, Archbishop, and Falcatius, Earl. It was a second time confirmed to this abbot and convent by King Henry I.; and, after him, by King Stephen; who, in another charter, confirms its liberties.

Strype mentions, that, in the reign of Richard I. there was a suit at law in the Court of King's Bench, between the Abbot of Westminster and one Stephen de Turnham, and Edelina his wife, holding, at that time, two hides and a half and one rod of land in Patrichsea, in the county of Surry; and that this Stephen de Turnham and his wife quitted the claim which they had to the land, upon the abbot's granting land to them, in return, at Westminster. This exchange was followed by a grant of William to the abbot, of the liberty of hunting in his manor of Patrichsea, as well as in Chillington; and also a release of it from *sacc* and *socc*, *toll* and *theam*, &c.

Periford, which appears also to have been part of Harold's possessions, by a charter addressed to Archbishop Stigand, was granted with the aforesaid manor; and, by another charter, eight hides of it in the forest of Windsore, which were thereby exempted from *sacc*, &c. This grant was reconfirmed by Henry I.

Wandlesworth, now *Wandsworth*, in the county of Surry. To this manor he

likewise, by a second charter, grants *sacc* and *socc*, &c.; and by a third, enlarges its liberties and exemptions.

He gave a mill at *Strachford*, or *Stratford*, with its appurtenances, to this abbey; which was no small gift at this time, if a judgment may be formed from the rates laid upon mills in the *Domesday Book*, and the laws then in existence for their preservation*.

Land at *Teldbury*, or *Tilbury*, in Essex, with the marsh there.

To *Thorp*, the king granted certain privileges and immunities, and likewise to *Lea*, and confirmed the manor of *Brome*.

The church of *Rocceland*, in Hampshire, he either gave to the Abbey of Westminster, or confirmed it as a former gift of the Confessor. By a second charter, he confirms it, with the land belonging to it; and, by a third, adds a confirmation of the tythes of it to this church. These several grants were, all of them, confirmed by his son, William Rufus.

To *Roceland* he also added the churches of *Yppingham*, *Werley*, *Wineton*, and *Belcona*.

Land at *Crickdale*.

The church called *Newkirk*, in London, which he afterwards confirms; and after him William Rufus; and lastly, Henry II. by the name of *Newkyrke*.

* It is probable, that, from the advantages which this and the neighbouring towns received from this mill, and their dependance on that account, the ancient custom arose, as mentioned by Strype, of the inhabitants of Stratford, Stebunith, or Stepney, and Whitechapel, going through the city of London in procession, at Whitsuntide, to the Church of St. Peter's, Westminster. From the obligation to perform this ancient ceremony, it appears, these places were released, in the time of Henry VIII. by Thirlby, then Bishop of Westminster. From that period this festival has ceased. As the abbey had no lands in these parishes, and mills in those times were such valuable possessions, there is no apparent reason for this anniversary than that which has been assigned.

He, lastly, confirms all their liberties by a general charter, which begins in the following manner: "To all friends where the Church of St. Peter has possession, I William, King, and Gilbert, Abbot," &c. &c.

It appears, that, in this king's reign, the church of St. Magnus, London, belonged to the Abbey of Westminster.

Geoffry de Magneville, and his wife Jocelyn, in his time, gave, for their souls' health, the manor of *Egye*, in Hertfordshire, and the manor of *Rabey*, together with the cell of *Herley*.

William Rufus, who never hesitated to relieve his necessities by making churches contribute to them, will not be expected to have added to the benefactions bestowed on the Abbey of Westminster. He, however, confirmed all the lands given to it by the glorious King Edward, as he is called in his charter, with other confirmations*.

William Magneville gave to this monastery the church of *Sabrichsworth*, or *Sabridgeworth*, in free and perpetual alms; which Henry II. confirmed by his charter, with various privileges and immunities.

Henry I. though distinguished for his learning, seems to have confined all his regard to the church in founding the abbey of Reading. He, nevertheless, confirmed the grants of his predecessors to the Church of Westminster. By four successive charters, he confirms *Batterscy*, *Islip*, *Periford*, and *Shepperton*, with their appurtenances; four hides of land in the manor of *Periford*; and land in the parish of *Windsor*; land at *Totinge*; and the manor of *Leosne*, with its appurtenances.

* William Rufus appears to have avowed incredulity in a very credulous age; and he never scrupled, in any emergency of government, to order the rich shrines of gold and silver, in which relics were contained, to serve the purposes of the state, and perhaps his own. He is, therefore, no favourite of the monkish historians: so that whatever good they speak of him, is extorted; whatever was indifferent in his character, they pervert; and whatever was evil, they exaggerate.

About this time the nunnery of Kilburne, in Middlesex, was founded by Herebertus, or Herbert, abbot of this church, having been before a hermitage of one Godwin, who was the first master, or *custos*, upon its being made a cell to the Church of Westminster. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and Osbort de Clare, prior: but was afterwards given by the abbot to three young maidens, named Emma, Gunilda, and Christina, maids of honour to Queen Maud, who were enjoined to pray for the soul of King Edward, and the prosperity of the abbey; and to such other virgins as chose to lead a religious life there. It had, besides, all the liberties granted to it which the abbey itself enjoyed. Herbert and the monks also endowed it with lands belonging to their church; while the Bishop of London granted to the abbot and his successors the supreme authority over it, with an exemption from any spiritual controul or interposition of that see. But, notwithstanding this agreement, says Sporley, a dispute afterwards arose between one of that prelate's successors and the abbot, concerning the jurisdiction of this cell*.

King Stephen, on his usurpation of the throne, thought it a right policy to ingratiate himself with the clergy, by acts of beneficence and gifts to the church, of which the Abbey of Westminster appears to have had its full share. Though another reason has been assigned for his bounty, as one of his illegitimate sons was at that time the abbot of it.

First, by his great charter, he confirms to it all the gifts and privileges which had formerly been presented and granted to it by his predecessors; and then augments and enlarges the privileges of certain places already possessed by it, as follows :—

A charter of liberties to the manor of *Batrichsey*, or *Battersea;* and a confirm-

* A manuscript copy of the agreement which was afterwards entered into by them, is in the Cotton collection.

ation of the manor of *Perham* and *Mapleford*, with the liberties of the manors of *Paddington*, *Fenton*, and *Cleygate*. His own personal gifts will be now stated.

In *Westminster*, one hide of land.

In *Hanwell*, one rod.

In *Kilvedune*, forty acres.

By his charter, he discharges the Abbot of Westminster from the court of hustings and folkmotes, on account of any of his lands in London.

By another charter, he acquits him of all service or attendance upon the sheriff of Essex, for any of his lands in that county.

During the civil commotions between this prince and the Empress Maud, the Church of Westminster had its portion of the public disasters. Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the brother of the empress, during his siege of Worcester and other places, laid waste, or seized into his hands, all the possessions this monastery held in the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, and Oxford. But, on application being made to Henry II. and the empress, when she came to visit him in England, they were restored to the church.

About this time, the daughters of a person of some consequence in those times, as appears from the account of his lands in *Domesday Book*, whose name was Dorman, left, for prayers to be offered up for their souls, certain lands in the city of London; which were afterwards confirmed by charter from King Henry II.

Herbert, the abbot, in the year 1130, granted in fee, to Henry Fitzwilfred, the manor of *Wokyndon*, for ten pounds per annum, and the church of *St. Alphage*, for twenty shillings.

About the year 1140, the church of *Winchendone* appears to have been in the gift of the Abbey of Westminster, in consequence of a composition between William de Winchendone and Gervasius de Blois, Abbot; which was made by Thomas, then Archbishop of Canterbury, as may be inferred from his letters.

It was this Gervase who, under pretence of granting lands belonging to this monastery, in fee farm, conveyed away many of them to his friends and relations, and particularly to his mother Dameta, whose spurious child he was, by King Stephen. He granted, by his assignment, the manor of *Chelchithe* to her and her heirs, to be held in fee, with the village and appurtenances, either land or water, paying for it the sum of four pounds per annum, at quarterly payments; —twenty shillings at Christmas, and similar sums at Easter, and the respective feasts of St. John the Baptist and St. Michael; to hold it peaceably and honourably, with *sacc* and *socc*, &c. For which grant, this woman gave to the convent the sum of forty shillings, and one pall worth a hundred shillings.

Gervase also granted to one Algere, a clerk, the manor of *Hamme*, in the county of Essex, for sixty shillings per annum.

The manor of *Hendon*, to Gilbert, the son of Gunter, in fee, for forty pounds per annum.

The manor of *Uppehalford* and *Scheperton*, to Robert Cranker, Knight.

Three hides of land in *Tuddington* and *Sunbury*, to Hugo, the son of Guernerius.

Three rods of land in *Whethanstede*, to Robert, his marshal, for ten shillings per annum.

The manor of *Durhurst*, in Gloucestershire, to William Dernford, Knight, for thirty pounds per annum.

To the church of St. Martin the Great, in London, and the chapter there, the church of *Alderschegate*, at seven shillings per annum.

The manor of *Wheatelye*, to Robert, the son of Swene, at sixty shillings per annum.

The manor of *Mulsham*, at nine pounds per annum.

The manor of *Cyppenham* and *Vurnam*, or rather *Burnham*, in which the former is a hamlet, to William de Buckland, for fifty shillings per annum.

These and many other alienations of livings, tythes, and ornaments in the church were made, which so impoverished it, that the monks were compelled to make their complaints to the pope, in order to prevent the total ruin of their abbey. Innocent II. who then possessed the papal throne, paid an immediate attention to them, and sent over his bull to regulate and correct these disorders*. The Abbot Gervase was accordingly deposed.

Henry II. is represented as manifesting particular reverence for the memory of St. Edward the Confessor; and to that zeal historians have attributed his royal benefactions to the Church of Westminster.

By his great charter, he confirms to it all its former grants and liberties; and, by particular charters, the grants of *Egye*, *Feryng*, *Wokendune*, and *Duddington*. His own personal gifts are as follows:—

Land at *Cumberington*, but the quantity is not expressed.

The church of *St. Bartholomew*, in *Suthbery*, in the county of Suffolk; and to the monks of Suthbery, the tythe of *Thorp*, in Suffolk.

The church of *St. Mary de Billan*.

He added his confirmation of the church of *Sabrichsworth*, said by some to be given by Edward I. while others mention Edward II. as the donor of it; but they only confirmed this gift, which was originally that of Mandeville. By another charter, he gives it liberty of *toll* and *theam*, &c.

A grant of certain privileges to the manors of *Perham* and *Mapleford*.

A grant, to the monks of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester, of an ounce of gold at his coronation, by letters directed to his chamberlain.

A grant, of the sum of ten shillings of his alms-money, to the Abbot of Westminster; and also money towards carrying on the new works at that abbey.

* See the Appendix.

About this time the Abbey of Westminster received considerable injury from fire. This circumstance is not mentioned by any of the historians; but a manuscript in the Cotton Library relates, that the abbot, Laurentius, being a great favourite with the king, and his mother, the Empress Maud, prevailed on his sovereign to repair the cells and offices of the monastery, and cover them anew with lead, as they had been for the most part consumed by fire, and were in a very ruinous condition. The occurrence of such a misfortune to the abbey seems to be corroborated by the grant already mentioned of money for the reparation of its buildings.

By different charters he grants to the abbot and monks of this church the following privileges:—

A remission of the claim of *gist* and *Danegelt*, assistance to sheriffs, and all other vexations.

Security of the peace to the merchants dwelling within the liberties of St. Peter's Abbey of Westminster.

A power to the abbot of trying all causes of murder where he had lands.

He concludes the whole by giving the accustomed liberties and immunities in all places where St. Peter had possessions.

In this king's reign, Pope Alexander III. granted to the abbots of this church the use of the mitre, ring, and crosier.

The same pope likewise gave his order for the body of St. Edward the Confessor to be translated.

Richard Cœur de Lion, who succeeded Henry II. by his several charters, confirmed the possession of all lands which had been granted to the Church of Westminster, with all their liberties, and adds his royal protection.

In this king's reign, Walter the Abbot granted in fee, to one Martins, the chapel of *Denham*, in Buckinghamshire, for six pounds per annum; the tythes

of Bury, to Nicholas Clerk, in fee, for four shillings per annum: to Norman Blod, the ground in *Stening-lane*, for twelve shillings per annum: the church of *St. Alban's*, Wood-street, London, to the Hospital of St. James's, Westminster, for thirteen shillings and four-pence per annum: the ground in *Friday-street*, to John Fitz-Roberts, in fee, for twelve shillings per annum; which Gilbert de Clare, afterwards Earl of Gloucester, held for fifteen shillings per annum, with ground next the church there, for twenty shillings per annum: and to Nicholas Peckelsham, the village of *Peckelsham*, and manor of *Benjere*, for nine pounds per annum. William Postard, who succeeded Walter as abbot of this church, discharged it of fifteen hundred pounds, for the payment of which the monastery was bound. He likewise performed many other acts of munificence. It appears, that, in his time, the churches of *Ockham* and *Hambledon* were in the possession of this abbey.

From the character of King John little is to be expected in favour of the church. There is, however, one charter that marks his attention to the Abbey of Westminster. It grants certain liberties and immunities to *Islip*, in the county of Oxford; which has been already noticed as the birth-place of King Edward the Confessor*.

Wulnoth, the last abbot, who died before the design of Edward the Confessor to rebuild the Church of Westminster could be carried into execution, was succeeded by Eadwine, one of its monks, who, according to Sporley, was elected at the particular request of the king himself.

EADWINE.

This ecclesiastic is represented as being advanced in years, and universally venerated for his learning and virtues. Such was his character for piety, that

* Dart's *History of St. Peter's, Westminster*, vol. II. p. 17, &c.

he became a very distinguished favourite of Edward, who was used to send for him to enjoy the confidence of his private hours*. In his time, the church was rebuilt, solemnly consecrated, and enriched with ample revenues. His name also appears as a subscribing witness to its charter of confirmation. He is said to have entertained such a grateful sense of Edward's favour to him, that, after the death of his beloved sovereign and master, he was used to pay a daily visit to his tomb, and indulge his devotions there.

He lived, through the short reign of Harold, to see the Norman conquest, and shared in the favour which William shewed to the Church of Westminster. It was during his abbacy, that the Conqueror exchanged lands in Essex for Windsor; which Matthew Paris, however, does not consider as favourable to the interests of the abbey. That writer alludes to Eadwine, when he says, " multa ei, " scilicet regi, conferens donativa ejus coronatione apud Westmonasterium cele- " brata ;" and thereby gaining the friendship of the king†. He also accuses the abbot of being too subservient a courtier to the new king. *Curialis nimis et aulicus novo regi.* Nay, he proceeds still farther, and charges him with employing his power to support injustice and oppression: which accusation he maintains by the following, not very consistent, relation.

" Some time before the Norman conquest, the Abbot of St. Alban's, at the " earnest request of the Abbot of Westminster, leased to him for twenty years " the manor of Aldenham, in Hertfordshire, a woody place, and infested with

* Dart quotes an ancient manuscript, which describes the last moments of the Confessor, and contains the following passage:—" And then the king took himself to Almighty God; and also he " sent for the Abbot of Westminstre, and toke him the ringe in the honour of God and Seinte Marie, " and of Seinte John the Evangeliste; and the abbot underfonged the king with moche reverence, and " put it among the relikes at Westminstre, and there it is unto this time, and evermore shall be."

† Matthew Paris, *Lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's*, fol. 47.

" robbers, upon condition that he should secure the road-ways to passengers, " and make good what losses they should sustain by thieves: for which he was " to pay a hundred shillings per annum and four oxen; and in case of neglect, " to forfeit his lease: but he, wishing to possess a wood near Aldenham, which " was remarkable for the pleasantness of its situation, moved suits against the " Abbot of St. Alban's, claiming it as his own, and would not resign it at the " end of the term of twenty years," &c. &c.*

Eadwine died on the 12th day of June, 1068, in the second year of William the Conqueror's reign, and in the nineteenth year of his abbacy. He was buried in the cloisters, where his remains reposed, as is mentioned in a former page, till the rebuilding of the monastery by Henry III. who was pleased to order them to be removed, with those of Queen Ethelgoda, Hugolin, Edward the Confessor's chamberlain, and Sulcardus, the monkish historian, to be re-interred on the south side of the entrance into the old chapter-house, when a marble tomb was placed over them, with the following curious inscription, which is written in the genuine spirit of a cloistered muse†:—

Iste locellus habet bis bina cadavera clausa,
Uxor Seberti, prima tamen minima.
De fracto capitis testa claret Hugolinus,
A claustro noviter huc translatus erat.
Abbas Edwynus et Sulcardus cenobita.
Sulcardus major est. Deus adsit eis.

* It may be reasonably conjectured, that the law-suit between the Abbies of Westminster and St. Alban's was gained by the former, as it kept possession of the property in contention. Matthew Paris was a monk of the latter, and that circumstance may account for the severity with which Eadwine has been treated by him.

† Flete and Sporley.

That King Edward, as it is related by Sulcardus, had resolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to return thanks to God and the apostle St. Peter for establishing him on the throne of his kingdom in peace and safety, is perfectly consistent with the known devotion of his character, as well as conformable to the example of several Saxon kings, his predecessors: nor was the remonstrance of his nobles and prelates against the execution of his pious design, from the apprehension which they entertained of intestine commotions, in case he should die during his progress, a less probable circumstance.

But that he should send a formal embassy in princely state to the papal throne, to obtain absolution from the vow he had made to present himself there; that the pope should enjoin him, by way of commutation, to lay out the money which he had set apart for the expences of his journey, in repairing or re-erecting some religious house, dedicated to St. Peter; and that he should be influenced, by the dream or enthusiastic fancies of a monk of Westminster, to obey the papal commands by the re-edification of that church, are parts of the narrative that do not appear to justify a similar claim to belief. Subsequent writers are indeed of opinion, that there is no better authority for this account of Edward's royal bounty to Westminster Abbey, than certain spurious charters, which still exist under the name of that monarch.

It is conjectured by Widmore, who has given a very sedulous and investigating attention to the subject, that the royal preference of the Monastery of Westminster, arose from the suggestion of Eadwine, the abbot, who possessed so large a portion of Edward's favour and confidence*.

But whatever may have been the precise motive to this deed of piety, the king rebuilt the church in a very magnificent manner, and endowed it with ample possessions.

* Widmore's *History of Westminster Abbey*, p. 10.

As to the structure itself, it is represented as being supported by pillars and arches. "Diversis fultum columnis ac multiplicibus volutum hinc et inde "arcubus*."

It was also built in the form of a cross, which was a novel circumstance in England, but afterwards became very generally adopted in the erection of churches throughout the kingdom†: and this general description is all which is now known of this fabric. The remains under the present library, and in the first prebendal house in the dark cloisters, may possibly be the crypts of this building.

It is said that the construction employed but a few years, as the king manifested a great anxiety for its completion; and, as it is more than probable, spared no expence for that purpose‡. The account of the funds, however, which were provided to carry on this celebrated undertaking, seems to be as destitute of probability as many other circumstances which are confidently mentioned by the historians of the church.

That the king should command an estimate to be taken of all his estates real and personal, and the tenth of the whole to be set apart for the expence of his intended journey to Rome; and, when that design was relinquished, that the reserved sum should be converted to the expenditure of rebuilding and endowing the Abbey of Westminster, is not a probable mode of proceeding. Camden, indeed, quotes an author to this effect, who is said to have lived at the time; but as his name is not mentioned, the authority bears rather a doubtful character§.

* Sulcardus.

† Sepultus est Londini in ecclesia, quam ipse novo compositionis genere construxerat, a qua post multi ecclesias construentes exemplum adepti opus illud emulabantur.—Matt. Paris, p. 2.

‡ Festinatur ergo ex præcepto regis cæptum opus et post paucos annos perfectum.—Sulcardus.

§ Camden's *Britannia*.

Whether the munificence of Edward was confined to the church, or was extended to the adjoining buildings, cannot at this distant period be satisfactorily ascertained.

In a yard on the east side of the little cloisters there are still some remains of a very ancient appearance. They are evidently a part of St. Catherine's chapel, which is known to have stood in that situation, and whose door-way forms an entrance to the yard. It is probable that there were cloisters also in the same place in the time of the Confessor, as the famous Geoffry de Mandeville, who distinguished himself at the battle of Hastings, mentions his having buried his first wife, Athelais, in those cloisters, as well as his intention also to share that grave with her*.

The side or front of a stone building in the sanctuary, towards the church, which, for upwards of two hundred years, had served as the cellar of a tavern, being exposed to view by the pulling down of some houses, about the middle of the last century, displayed the appearance of a very remote origin. Some antiquaries have imagined it to have been a chapel, and of a more ancient date than the present structure of the church. It is first mentioned in a charter of Edward I. dated the 3d day of December, in the ninth year of that prince, or 1290. It was then called the *Bellfrey*, and continued to be used as such till towers were added to the church by Islip, the abbot, in the reign of Henry VII.†

The parish church of St. Margaret is said to have been erected in its present situation by Edward the Confessor, the place which had before served the inhabitants for parochial worship being in the north part of the body of the abbey

* *Niger Quaternus*, a register book of the abbey so called, fol. 5.

† Belfries were usually separate from the church, of which there are some examples still remaining.

church, and interfering with the design of the projected structure: but the earliest authority on which this circumstance rests, is not calculated to establish its credibility. A monk of the abbey, it seems, who was present at the coronation of Edward III. declared, that he had been informed by one of his monastic brethren, who took the habit in the reign of Henry III. that he had often heard the elder brethren of the community assign the foregoing reason for the position of St. Margaret's church*. At all events, there was a parish church so situated previous to the year 1140; as Abbot Herebert, who died in that year, granted for the service of the high altar at the abbey, sixty shillings of the profits of the church of St. Margaret, standing in the abbey church-yard†.

The revenues bestowed by the king on this place were very considerable; and the grants of several manors are still remaining, which were large estates. Several of his officers also, and other great men, were very liberal in their benefactions at that time, after the example of their sovereign‡.

The honours and privileges which Edward conferred on this church do not appear to be distinguished from those which were usually granted to religious houses, in conformity to the nature of those institutions§; such as the royalty in their own lands, and an exemption from other temporal jurisdiction. The others are as follows:—

* *Niger Quaternus*, fol. 76.

† *Carta in Biblioth. Harleiana.*

‡ The charter of the Confessor, which is acknowledged to be genuine, mentions what estates the church possessed before his time, and what he and his *milites* gave. Two of the estates previous to that period, *Hamme* and *Handon*, are still in the church; proving, undeniably, that there was a religious foundation before the Confessor, and probably by Edgar. The Confessor's grants of lands continue to this day the principal estates of the church, *Deerhurst*, *Pershore*, *Okeham*, *Stanes*, *Whethampstead*, *Sudbury*, *Islip*, *Launton*, &c. &c.

§ Edward's charter of privileges already cited.

1 To be a church for the coronation of all succeeding kings.

2. To have the custody of the regalia.

3. To be the place of sepulture for himself and his successors.

4. To be a sanctuary, or place of personal security, for debtors or criminals, who should escape thither from the pursuit of the laws; and,

Lastly, an entire exemption from episcopal power and jurisdiction.

These, however, appear to have no better a foundation than certain charters, in the name of this king, whose assumed origin is very doubtful. Indeed, the suspicion of antiquaries respecting their authenticity seems to be justified by the many Norman phrases which occur in them: a circumstance that goes very far towards proving them to have been fabricated at a period subsequent to the conquest.

With respect to the solemn appointment of Westminster Abbey, by the Confessor, to be a place exclusively reserved for the coronation of all future kings, it must be observed, that a circumstance took place immediately on his death, which greatly weakens, if it does not altogether destroy, the authenticity of such a direction. This was no less than the coronation of his successor, which was solemnized in the cathedral of St. Paul*. For it may be fairly supposed, that if Edward had destined the abbey for such a sacred purpose, Harold would not, from a principle of policy, have manifested so wanton a disregard to the ordinance of a prince, whose virtues had been so dear, and whose memory was so precious, to the people.

It seems, indeed, to be a more reasonable opinion, that William the Conqueror preferred this church to be the scene of his coronation, for the sole purpose of expressing his veneration for a monarch of whose kindred to him he was

* Apud Sanctum Paulum coronam arripuit.—TAYLOR's *History of Gavelkind.*

accustomed to boast, and under whose grant he made his pretensions to the crown*. Nor is it improbable that William acted on this occasion from a suggestion of the Abbot Eadwine, who might indulge a very natural hope, that his monastery would not only derive emolument, but security, a very important object in those days, from such a tutelary circumstance. This notion, indeed, appears to be sanctioned by William of Malmsbury, who mentions, that Eadwine made the king many presents at his coronation in the abbey; which, if it had not, in some degree at least, originated in himself, he might rather have expected to receive from his sovereign at a ceremonial of so much importance, in the early part of our history, to sovereignty itself†.

As to an especial appointment of the place to be the exclusive receptacle for the regalia of the throne, that appears to have been altogether superfluous; as the local honour of the regulation, for such it was evidently intended, must have been necessarily attached, in those times, to the consecrated edifice where the act of crowning the kings was performed.

That it was the earnest wish of the Confessor to be interred in this church, which had, from various natural causes, become endeared to him, may be readily believed. His piety had erected the noble structure; it seems to have been his fond and favourite work; and the last public act of his life was the consecration of it. There is, besides, sufficient historical evidence to prove the royal and devout design respecting the local consignment of his body to the dust, when the spirit should have returned to him who gave it‡.

* Rex Willielmus.....ibi regni susceperit insignia. Consuetudo igitur apud posteros evaluit, ut propter Edwardi ibi sepulti memoriam regiam regnaturi accipiant coronam.—W. Malmsbury, fol. 134.

† Multa ei conferens donativa in ejus coronatione apud Westmonasterium celebrata.—Matt. Paris, *Lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's*, fol. 47.

‡ Ubi rex sepulturam sibi eligeret, et cum regina supremum diem expectaret.—Sulcardus.

Not the least probability, however, appears to attach to the opinion, that Edward, as far as any act of his could determine it, intended to appropriate the abbey as a place of sepulture for all succeeding kings; as, had that been his known and accredited design, it is natural to suppose that it would have proved the mausoleum of some or other of his successors: whereas, not one king, except himself, was buried in the church which he had caused to be erected. Harold was interred at Waltham Abbey; William I. in the abbey which he had himself founded at Caen, in Normandy; William Rufus at Winchester; Henry I. at Reading; Stephen at Feversham; Henry II. and Richard I. at Font Everard; and John at Worcester.

Indeed, the doctrine of purgatory, and the confidence which was placed, in those ages of Popery, in the prayers of the church for the souls of departed persons, occasioned princes to establish or rebuild religious houses for the purpose of being entombed in them, and securing the perpetual, and as it were exclusive, prayers of the monastic communities, to whose pious care their dust was respectively consigned*. Thus it may be observed of the monarchs whose names have been so lately recited, that those of them who enjoyed leisure, or were animated by devotion, had either founded or been benefactors to the monasteries where they were buried. Harold, William the Conqueror, Henry I. and Stephen, were the royal founders of the several places where their remains were deposited; and Henry II. had distingushed the abbey of Font Everard by his princely munificence.

The privilege of sanctuary was most probably acquired by this church, from

* Prayers continued at certain periods to be offered up for the soul of William the Conqueror, in the monastery which he founded, and where he was buried, called the *Abbaye aux Hommes*, at Caen, in Normandy; till the French revolution drove not only Popery, but religion itself, out of that unhappy and violated country.

the canonization of its founder, the veneration in which his memory was held by all ranks of people, and its being the scene of his sepulchre. Such circumstances were peculiarly calculated to give an especial sanctity to it in the public opinion: nor will it be presumed, that the monks were deficient in zeal to maintain the advantages which might be derived to their monastery from a concurrence of such imposing incidents. It appears, therefore, that a better ground may be suggested for giving it the dignity of a sacred asylum than the possession of relics, which some of the charters mention as having been added by the Confessor to the treasures of his church*. Lastly, with respect to the exemption of the monastery from episcopal jurisdiction; that privilege, as appears from sufficient authority, was

* Sanctuaries, which arose from the superstitious veneration paid to consecrated ground in the times of Popery, appear to have been established in England as far back as in the third year of the reign of Ina, King of the West Saxons. The privilege was granted to Croyland Abbey by Withlaff, King of Mercia, in the year 833, in return for special services rendered him by the abbot. By the laws of King Edmund, in the year 946, sanctuary seems to have been generally established by the following regulation:—That if a man fly to a church, and any one set upon him and do him harm, the relations of the fugitive may entertain a deadly feud against such person for the assault or injury. In the time of Canute, the privilege of sanctuary was carried to such a height, as to afford an asylum to all crimes, to defy all power, and to have been as notoriously abused as in the subsequent and most profligate periods of Popery.

The king's town, by which is understood the place wherein the king had a palace or an occasional residence, is also mentioned by the laws of Edmund, as affording safeguard and protection; but not to that extent which was allowed to sacred edifices: a privilege which, in a more limited and partial degree, has been possessed by the royal palaces of modern times.

The immunity of privileged places was very much abridged by the statutes of the 27th Henry VIII. and the 32d of the same king. And in the 21st James I. all privilege of sanctuary, and abjuration consequent thereupon, is utterly taken away and abolished.

not finally settled till the year 1222, in the very early part of the reign of Henry III.: whereas the authorities of the Confessor and the pope, as expressed in the same charters, had they been genuine, must have determined it long before*.

Thus are the weight and character of these charters, attributed to King Edward, greatly diminished, if not altogether destroyed. Widmore appears to be so entirely convinced of their being forgeries, that he thinks they ought no longer to be found in the collection of British and general councils; where, from an inconsiderate belief in their genuine character, they have been suffered so long to retain a place, and have consequently acquired an importance to which they are by no means entitled†.

The abbacy of Eadwine was distinguished also by the burial of Edward the Confessor, and coronation of William the Conqueror, which took place in his church.

Of the funeral of the former monarch no other account seems to have been given by the monastic historians, but that he was buried the day after his death before the high altar in Westminster Abbey. So very small was the space of time between the death of the king and his interment, that no opportunity was afforded for splendid preparation; but it was attended with a higher distinction than the most magnificent obsequies could bestow, in the flowing tears and universal lamentations of his people. No tongue, says one of his eulogists, could express the fear and grief which then possessed all men, as esteeming their whole happiness and prosperity to be fled away with him. Of the tomb which

* Wharton *de Episcopis Londinensibus*, p. 247.

† Spelman, vol. I. p. 627.—Wilkins, vol. I. p. 316.—Labbe, vol. IX. col. 1186.—Widmore's *History of Westminster Abbey*, p. 15.

he had commanded to be prepared for his remains, there is no description. Capgrave, in his life of this pious prince, mentions, with a long detail of miraculous occurrences which accompanied the ceremony, that his body was removed in the very early part of the reign of Henry I. It appears, however, on a more unexceptionable authority, to have been removed the 3d of October, 1163, to a tomb of superior structure, in the presence of Henry II.; and that on the rebuilding the church by Henry III. the royal corpse was once more transferred, on the same day of the same month, in the year 1269, to a monumental building of a still more magnificent character, suited to the grandeur of the new church, and the sanctity of Edward's canonized virtues. King Henry himself, his brother, his two sons, and many of the principal nobility, attended the solemnity*.

In the *English Martyrology*, the canonization of the Confessor is dated October the 13th, 1163, being the ninth year of Henry II.; while, in the *Roman Catalogue of Saints*, his admission into that communion is celebrated as having taking place on the 5th of January, 1066, which was the day of his death.

Of the coronation of William the Conqueror, which took place, in Westminster, on the 26th day of December, 1066, some curious circumstances are recorded, which must not be passed by without particular notice.

The ceremonial on this occasion clearly proves, whatever his subsequent conduct might have been, that William, so far from assuming the crown by right of conquest, thought it necessary to submit to the form of an election. Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was at this time regarded by the duke with a jealous eye; not only from his having intruded himself into the see on the expulsion

* *Chron.* Tho. Wykes, p. 88, 89.—*Annales de Waverley*, p. 225.

of Robert the Norman, but his possessing such an influence and authority over the English, as might prove dangerous to a new-established monarch. William, therefore, on the pretence that the primate had obtained his pall in an irregular manner from Pope Benedict IX. who was himself an usurper, refused to be consecrated by him, and conferred this honour on Aldred, Archbishop of York. Westminster Abbey was the place appointed for that magnificent ceremony by William, from the convenience of its situation, as well as from the great respect he always professed for the memory of its founder, and the claim of succession which he pretended to have received from him.

The most considerable of the nobility, both English and Normans, attended on the occasion, when Aldred, in a short speech, demanded of the former if they agreed to accept William as their king; the Bishop of Coutance then put the same question to the latter: and both the one and the other being answered with loud acclamations, Aldred administered to the duke the usual coronation oath, by which he bound himself to protect the church, to administer justice, and to repress violence. According to William of Malmsbury, he also promised to govern the English and Normans by the same tenor of equal justice. He was then anointed in due form, and the crown placed upon his head. Joy alone appeared in the countenance of the spectators; but, in that very moment, there burst forth no unequivocal symptoms of the jealousy and animosity subsisting between the two nations, and which continually increased during the reign of this prince. The Norman soldiers, who were placed without in order to guard the church, hearing the shouts within, imagined that the English were offering violence to their duke, and not only assaulted the populace, but proceeded to set fire to the neighbouring houses. The alarm was instantly conveyed to the nobility who surrounded the prince; and both English and Normans rushed forth

to secure themselves from the present danger; when it was with difficulty that William himself was able to appease the tumult*.

The example of the Conqueror has been followed, in the choice of Westminster Abbey for the solemn rites of inauguration, by all his successors, except Henry III. who was crowned at Gloucester. The pope's legate, however, who officiated at the ceremony, acknowledged that it was not the proper place; and that the coronation was necessarily solemnized at Gloucester, from existing circumstances, Westminster being at that time in the hands of the king's enemies†. Indeed, that reason does not seem to have been considered as conclusive for the celebration of the important ceremony in another place, as, in the year 1220, the coronation of Henry III. was repeated at Westminster.

The number of monks in this abbey, according to William of Malmsbury, was enlarged by the Confessor, and his benefactions, it may be supposed, were fully sufficient to support an addition of monastic inhabitants‡. This supply seems to have been principally obtained from the monastery of Exeter, on its erection into a bishopric§. Godwin, in his *History of the Bishops of Exeter*, gives the following account of this transaction :—

" In the year 1049, King Edward and his Queen Editha went to Exeter, to " give a greater lustre to the church there, which, with their consent, was erected " by Leofric, then Bishop of Crediton, or Kirton, in that diocese, into an episcopal " see : and by the same authority he compelled the monks of Exeter to remove " to Westminster, to the end he might place canons in their room. As for the

* *Arch. Coronation Papers.*

† *Chron.* Tho. Wykes, p. 39.—*Annales de Waverley*, p. 185.

‡ Qui ampliori monachorum conventu ibidem adunato ecclesiam edificationis genere novo fecit. —Malmsbury, fol. 134.

§ Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. I. p. 81.

" monks from thence translated to Westminster, they were gainers by the cir-
" cumstance, as the monastery there had been particularly chosen by King
" Edward to pour forth his liberalities upon, which he did in a most extraordi-
" nary manner."

The precise number to which the monks were increased does not any where appear. In the year 1256, their full number is said to have been eighty; but that is near two hundred years after this time, in which space the revenues of the abbey had received a considerable addition. Among others, the Abbot de Barking had caused an augmentation of them to the yearly value of three hundred marks*.

GALFRIDUS, OR GOIFFRIDUS.

It is probable that this person succeeded Eadwine about the year 1072. He had been abbot of the monastery of St. Peter de Gymiges, in Normandy, and came over with William the Conqueror†. Little, however, is known of him, and that little is not much to his honour; as, in the fourth year of his government of this monastery, for some palpable misconduct at the time, though it is no where particularly described, he was severely admonished, both by his sovereign and Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury; but disregarding their admonitions, and continuing in his irregular courses, he was deprived of his dignity, and sent back with disgrace to Normandy, where he died.

There was an abbot of the church of Gymiges named Godefridus, in the year 1045, who might, probably, be the same person; and if so, he must have been far advanced in years when he was appointed to Westminster; and more likely, it may be thought, to be removed by death than misconduct‡.

* Instrument of Abbot Crokesly's Anniversary.

† William of Malmsbury, p. 66. l. 29. edit. 1596.

‡ *Newtria pia*, p. 309.

In the year 1075, which was in the time of this abbot, Queen Editha was buried in this church, on the north side of her royal husband, the Confessor, when the Conqueror commanded a costly tomb to be erected in honour of her*.

VITALIS.

On the dismission of Galfridus, the Conqueror recommended Vitalis to succeed him as Abbot of Westminster. There appears to be sufficient authority to determine the time of his accession to have been in the year 1076; and when William sent for him, he gravely represented him as peculiarly fitted for the situation by his learning, wisdom, and useful qualifications†. He had been Abbot of Bernay, in Normandy, and had attended so much to the improvement of that abbey, as to have raised it from an inferior place to a very considerable establishment.

The letter of the king to the Abbot of Fiscamp, to which Bernay was subject, has been published by Mabillon. It is a curious document, and as it is immediately connected with the subject, and gives some idea of this monarch's manner of proceeding in ecclesiastical matters, at least where he had no particular bias to influence, or no very predominant views to govern, him, it may not be considered as a superfluous insertion.

" *Willelmi Anglorum Regis epistola ad Johannem Abbatem Fiscamnensem.*

" W. Rex Anglorum Johanni Abbati salutem.—Diu mecum cogitavi, " mi dilecte, in cujus manu et custodia possem mittere et commendare abbatiam " Sancti Petri de Westmonasterio: quia in maxima veneratione et habeo et ex " debito habere debeo. Ibi enim jacet vir beatæ memoriæ dominus meus Rex

* Studio ejus prope conjugem locata habet tumbam, argenti aurique expensis operosam.—William of Malmsbury.

† *Annales de Waverlee*, p. 132.

" Ethwardus; ibi etiam tumulata est Regina Etgith, uxor ejus inclita: ego etiam " ibidem, Dei clementia providente, sceptrum et coronam totius regni Anglici " suscepi. Tandem, consilio Lanfranni Archiepiscopi, meorumque procerum, " Vitalem Abbatem, quamvis invitum, ad hoc coegi ut illam assumeret. Cum " enim abbatiam de Bernaco ex minimo multum, ut patet, sublimaverit; " intellexi illum dignum esse Abbatiâ de Westmonasterio, et utilitate et pru- " dentia. Quapropter liceat mihi istud fieri, quod de eo communi consilio " meorum providi procerum, licentia tua et bona voluntate et conventus fratrum. " Volo etiam tibi notum esse me eligisse Osbernum, fratrem scilicet Vitalis Abbatis, " ut habeat abbatiam de Bernaco, et hoc tuâ licentiâ mihi fieri liceat.—Vale*."

There is little or no account of the transactions of Abbot Vitalis respecting his church: yet it is evident, that he was by no means inattentive to its interests or its character, as he is known to have employed Sulcardus, one of his monks, and an able writer for his time, to compose the history of Westminster Abbey, in which work he most probably assisted him, and, thereby, to display its figure and consequence to the world. It may be concluded, also, that he gave it his peculiar sanction, by allowing it to be dedicated to him, as appears from the following introductory address:—" Venerabili viro et semper Dei servo, domino Abbati " Vitali monachorum minimus frater Sulcardus salutem cum devoto famulatu " et obsequio," &c. &c.—" I find him also," says Widmore, " defending the " title of the monastery to certain lands, and maintaining his points†."

After presiding over this abbey during the space of nine years, he died on the 19th of June, as appears from his anniversary being kept on that day, and in the year 1085. He was buried in the south walk of the great cloisters; and Flete

* *Analecta Vetera*, vol. I. p. 219.

† Widmore's *History of Westminster Abbey*, p. 19.

describes his gravestone as being a small one of white marble, at the feet of Gervasius; so that what has been marked for Laurentius must have belonged to this abbot.

His epitaph was in the style of those times; but, without possessing any claim to excellence, is superior, perhaps, to the inscriptive lines of some of his successors.

A vita nomen qui traxit, morte vocante,
Abbas Vitalis transiit, hicque jacet.

The anniversary of this abbot appears to have been one of the earliest of which there is any description. Flete states, that his gravestone on that occasion was used to be overlaid with a carpet, on which was spread a covering of silk wrought with gold, when two wax candles, of two pounds each, provided by the sacristan, were placed there from the hour of vespers till the final mass of the requiem on the following day; and the prior, or, in his absence, the sub-prior, celebrated mass on the occasion.

GILBERT CRISPIN.

On the death of Vitalis, Gilbert Crispin was elected by the monks of Westminster to succeed him. It appears, that he was not only favoured by the king, but particularly recommended by Archbishop Lanfranc and several of the Norman nobility*. He was himself a person of high descent: his family was among the most ancient in Normandy, and had produced very distinguished personages. His grandfather Gilbert, his father William, and his uncle Robert, were all of that character: his father, in particular, stood very high in the favour of his sovereign†.

Gilbert had been educated at the abbey of Bec, in Normandy, under Lanfranc,

* Sporley.

† See notes on *Nicephorus Bryennius*, published with *Joannes Cinnamus*—Paris, 1670, p. 206.

who was at that time a monk and prior of the house, where he taught logic, and, probably, the other liberal sciences, with great reputation. Under that able instructor he laid the foundation of the very eminent character which he afterwards attained. He also enlarged his erudition by visiting the universities of France, as well as Rome, and other parts of Europe.

Archbishop Anselm was abbot of the monastery of Bec when Gilbert became a member of its cloister, where he soon acquired the affectionate regard of those great men who governed and taught in it: nor did he cease to retain their consideration, when they reached those elevated situations to which their superior qualities destined them.

In the time of this abbot, William held a national council in the Monastery of Westminster, when Gilbert and his monastic brethren took an opportunity to petition the king for a charter of liberties, which, from the intercession of Archbishop Lanfranc, and the love he bore Gilbert, as expressed in the instrument, he most graciously granted. In the reign of the same prince, he appears also to have been a subscribing witness to a charter granted at Windsor to the abbey of Croyland.

He was employed by King Henry I. in several embassies or messages. One of them is particularly mentioned as being undertaken to Theobald, Earl of Blois, in which he was accompanied by Geoffrey, Abbot of Croyland. On this occasion, Petrus Blefensis speaks of them both in the following manner:— " Direxit et ambos Franciæ genitos et nutritos ambos in septem liberalibus " artibus insignes doctores, sensu celebres, senio reverendos præfato, domino " meo charissimos, et omnibus Belgiæ, Franciæ, notissimos et amatos*.

In the year 1100, Gilbert appears, on the Wednesday after the festival of

* Eadmerus, p. 92.—*Continuation of Ingulphus*, by Petrus Blefensis, p. 130.

St. John the Baptist, to have been engaged in a visitation of the hospital of St. James, which is now the royal palace, and was then subject to the Monastery of Westminster*.

Robert, a monk, and by some writers described as the prior of this church, was, in 1102, and consequently during the abbacy of Gilbert, elected abbot of St. Edmondsbury. In the same year also, as it has been already observed, Athelais, the first wife of Geoffry de Mandeville, and probably himself afterwards, was buried in the cloisters: in consideration of which privilege he gave to this monastery the manor of *Eye*, still called *Eybury*, between Westminster and Chelsea; and also converted the priory of *Hurley*, in Berkshire, which he had founded, into a cell to this house†.

The following circumstance has no claim to historical importance, at the same time, as it is mentioned among the contemporary occurrences, it may be thought not altogether unworthy of notice. On the 19th day of September, 1115, the Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated, in the church of this monastery, Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, for the purpose of gratifying the curiosity of Queen Matilda, who had expressed a wish to be present at the ceremonial of an episcopal consecration‡.

Abbot Gilbert died on the 6th of December, 1117, after having governed this church, in the language of Flete, with great sanctity, during the long period of thirty-two years, and was buried in the south part of the great cloisters.

* Cotton Lib. *Titus*, A. 8.

† This gift, as thus stated, was in the reign of the Conqueror—*Magna Britannia*, vol. I. p. 182; and yet *Hurley* is afterwards mentioned as part of the donation of Henry VIII. in lieu of what he took from the church. This contradiction can only be reconciled by the not improbable conjecture, that Henry's gift was some addition to it.

‡ Eadmerus, p. 116.

Widmore says his gravestone is no longer discoverable; but as it is expressly mentioned, that his image was engraved on the marble, and as there are two images still remaining, one in stone and the other in black marble, the latter may, with good reason, be assigned to him.

His epitaph, which gives some particulars of his character and qualities, consists of the following lines:—

Hic pater insignis, genus altum, virgo senexque,
Gisleberte, jaces lux, via, duxque tuis.
Mitis eras, justus, prudens, fortis, moderatus,
Doctus quadrivio, nec minus in trivio.
Sic tamen ornatus, nece, sexta luce Decembris,
Spiramen cælo reddis, et ossa solo.

The words *trivium* and *quadrivium*, employed in the foregoing lines, are school terms in use at that time, which comprehended the seven liberal arts. Grammar, rhetoric, and logic formed the *trivium*, or the threefold way to eloquence; while arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy composed the *quadrivium*, or fourfold way to knowledge*.

Gilbert was an author of consideration in his day; and some of his works are still extant. Bale and Pits, after him, have given a catalogue of them. The following also are yet in being, though not mentioned by those writers†:

A dialogue *de Processione Spiritus Sancti a Patre et Filio.* The second part of *A Dispute or Conference with a Jew.* A disputation between a Christian and a Gentile, entitled, *De Fide Christi.*

Verses on several subjects: as, *de Confessione; de Corpore et Sanguine Domini; de Creatione sex Dierum;* and *de Rege quærente Uxorem.*

* Du Fresne's *Glossary.*

† Cotton Library, *Vespasian*, A. 14.

He is likewise said to have written the life of Herlewin, the first abbot of Bec*.

Of his works, the first part of his dispute with a learned Jew, who had been educated at Mentz, has been printed. The language of it possesses the simplicity and clearness which suit the nature and object of such a composition. Its merit is considerable, and its defects are those of the times, rather than of the writer†.

During the abbacy of Gilbert, a monk of the name of Warner, the same it may be supposed who is mentioned in the *History of Ely*‡, as one of the seniors of the house, in the year 1106, is said to have published a volume of *Homilies*, and also a collection of flowers from the *Ancient Fathers;* the latter of which was printed at Francfort in the year 1494§.

In the intermediate time between the death of Gilbert and the appointment of his successor, Matilda, the wife of Henry I. distinguished by the name of the good queen, was buried in Westminster Abbey, on the right side of, and near, the tomb of the Confessor. She died on the 30th day of April, 1118; and her death was very much lamented by all ranks of people, to whom her amiable qualities had greatly endeared her. This princess had lived in uninterrupted harmony with her royal consort; and the peace of England, during his long absence from it, was, in a great measure, owing to her superior virtues and understanding‖.

* W. Gemeticensis, *de Ducibus Normannorum*, l. 7. c. 22.

† With the works of Anselmus, Cologne, 1537; Paris, 1678.

‡ *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 613.

§ Pits, *de Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, p. 191.

‖ A curious circumstance is connected with the burial of this queen. It appears by a roll, which was formerly mistaken for one of the 5th of King Stephen, but has been restored by Madox, in

HEREBERT.

This abbot is said to have been a Norman, as his predecessors had been; though it is more probable that he was only of Norman extraction, as he was a monk and almoner of the monastery at the time of his appointment to preside over it, which was not till the year 1121. The only reason that can be readily assigned for the long vacancy on this occasion, as it sometimes happened in other places, may be found in the king's right of receiving the intermediate emoluments; and the pressing wants which this monarch at different periods of his reign is known to have experienced, naturally required his application to all possible means of supplying them*.

Herebert is said to have been made abbot by Henry I.† or rather by the royal recommendation, which the monks would not have been so imprudent as to refuse; nor is it probable that the king would deny them, at least, the name and form of an election, which they could claim by the regulations of their founder, and the statutes of their order. This ecclesiastic seems to have been held in high estimation, and considered with particular favour at court: as a proof of it, Henry granted to the lands belonging to the almoner's office, which he had possessed, several privileges and immunities; and King Stephen was afterwards pleased to confirm them.

In the time of Gilbert, Bishop of London, who, from his great learning, was called *the Universal*, this abbot founded a small nunnery at Kilbourne, near Hampstead, which has been already mentioned; and placed there, as the first

his *Collection*, &c. to this year and reign, that the sheriffs of London had the care of her funeral: since, in passing their accounts, they charge the crown with fifteen shillings and two-pence half-penny for oil expended in burning upon her tomb, &c.; with three shillings for cloth for covering the same.

* *Saxon Chronicle*, anno 1118.

† *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 298.

nuns, three ladies, named Emma, Gunilda, and Christina, who are said to have been maids of honour to Matilda, the queen of Henry I. as Flete describes them, *Tres domicellas cameræ Matildis bonæ reginæ.*

He also appointed an ecclesiastic, named Godwin, who had lived in the character of a hermit at Kilbourne, to be the warden, chaplain, and confessor of these religious ladies, and of such as might be added to their conventual community. He likewise assigned them, for their support, some of the abbey lands, as well as certain corrodies and allowances of provision from the monastery, which they continued to receive till their dissolution by Henry VIII.

The jurisdiction of this nunnery appears to have been the subject of several disputes between the bishops of London and the abbots of Westminster; which were at last adjusted in the year 1231, in the fifteenth year of Henry III.; when it was agreed, that, while all due respect should be preserved to the bishop, the power of appointing and removing persons in the various offices of this minor establishment, as well as the correction of its abuses, should remain with the abbot*.

It appears, likewise, that Herebert made a stipendiary grant out of the abbot's income to the use of the high altar; and that he manifested some marks of his regard to the priories of Great Malvern and Hurley, two cells of the abbey†.

He died September the 3d, 1140, in the fifth year of King Stephen, after he had governed the Church of Westminster nineteen years, and was buried in the south part of the great cloisters, towards the east end, as described by Flete. The stone which covered his remains was distinguished by the following epitaph:—

Abbatis nostri corpus jacet hic Hereberti;
Vivat post obitum spiritus ante Deum.

* *Archives of the Church*, Kilbourne.

† An instrument in the Harleian Library.

GERVASE.

On the death of Herebert, King Stephen influenced the monks of Westminster to elect, as their abbot, Gervase, surnamed de Blois, an illegitimate son of that monarch, by a Norman woman, named Dameta. By Matthew Paris he is likewise called Gerum.

Soon after his election, this abbot solicited at Rome the canonization of the Confessor, and sent Osbert de Clare, a learned monk of his cloister, on a mission for that purpose; but he did not altogether succeed. Innocent II. who was then pope, resisted the application, from a deficiency in the testimonials necessary to accomplish the desired object. He required a more particular account of the actions of Edward's reign, and the miracles which he had wrought; an essential article in the composition of a Romish saint: and consequently refused to confer the solicited honour till that was produced.

There appears to have been a contest between this abbot and the priory of Great Malvern, in Worcestershire, which was a cell to this monastery, before the pope's legate*, then resident in England. The particular subject of this dispute is not mentioned; but it seems to have related to the point of jurisdiction. The cause, however, was determined in favour of the abbot, and the monks of Malvern found it necessary to make their submissions.

Gervase may be allowed the merit of attracting his father's bounty to the abbey; but, at the same time, he seems to have made no scruple of impoverishing it by a lavish extravagance. He disposed of many of the abbey lands in fee farm to his mother, and others of his friends and favourites. It is true, that several of them were afterwards recovered by the good management of some of the succeeding abbots; but the greater part continued as he had distributed them, to the period of the dissolution†.

* Joh. Sarisburiensis *Epist.* 100.

† Flete.

He was also very profuse of the goods of the monastery, and even confiscated some of the ornaments and jewels of the church; so that the monks, and as it appears not without reason, entertained very serious apprehensions, that he would not scruple to take the same liberty even with the regalia, which were entrusted to their care.

It is evident, from every thing related of him, that he was of an unprincipled, insolent, arbitrary character, presuming upon his birth, and conducting himself in a most oppressive manner to his monastic community. He also wasted the hospitalities of the abbey on strangers and military associates; preferring, on all occasions, the company of laymen, and slighting his own order. It appears, indeed, that these disgraceful practices took place immediately on his appointment to the abbacy, as the pope, to whom the complaint of them was made, did not survive the year 1143.

It was to Innocent II. that the monks felt themselves obliged most seriously to represent his misconduct; when his holiness issued a bull, admonishing him to rectify his errors, and assume another and better mode of conduct. What effect the admonition of the holy father had upon him, is not on record. There is no reason, however, to suppose that he paid a becoming attention to it; for though, during his father's reign, he was enabled, by the royal protection, to maintain his monastic supremacy, he was afterwards removed from it by Henry II.; and his having squandered away the lands of the abbey, is assigned as the cause of his dismission*.

Matthew Paris describes him as *clarior genere quam moribus*, and unreservedly charges him with wantonly dissipating the property of the monastery; for which reason he adds, *quia res loci illius juveniliter dissipavit*, he was deposed. As it is not

* *Decem Scrip.* col. 281.

probable, however, that this disgrace would have overtaken him for misconduct twelve years previous to his removal, it seems to mark an unremitted continuance of it. At all events, it is certain that his successor found the abbey in a state of actual impoverishment, and without even the necessary stores or furniture, on the taking possession of his monastic office*.

Another misfortune likewise befel the estates of the monastery in the time of Gervase. Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the principal adviser of the Empress Matilda in her contentions with King Stephen, either seized or ravaged the abbey lands in the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, and Oxford, or at least encouraged his followers to do it, as an act of hostility against Stephen, from the consideration that those estates belonged to his son, as abbot of Westminster†.

In the year 1157, and previous, as may be presumed, to the removal of Gervase, Hugh, the Prior of Westminster, was elected abbot of St. Edmondsbury‡.

The exact time when Gervase was deprived of his rank in the church does not appear to be any where mentioned. It was not, however, immediately on the death of Stephen, as his name appears in the character of abbot of Westminster in a charter of Henry II.; and yet it must have been in, or previous to, the year 1159, when Laurence is recorded as his successor§.

His death is said to have taken place on the 25th day of August, 1160, in the sixth year of Henry II. and, probably, about twelve months after his compulsory abdication. The place of his interment is the south side of the great cloisters; but the very large stone, known by the name of *Long Megg*, belongs not to his grave. Flete says, and at the time when he wrote his history‖ the

* Matt. Paris, *Lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's*, p. 73.

† Flete.

‡ *Mon. Angl.* vol. I. p. 295.

§ *Ibid.* vol. I. p. 367.

‖ About the year 1443.

epitaph might remain, that he was buried under a small stone; and, according to his description, it was the middle one of the three there. It is more probable, that the large stone was laid over several monks*, twenty-six in number†, who were victims of the terrible plague which broke out in this country in the year 1349, and were all buried in one grave. The circumstance, at least, is conformable to the generous spirit and benevolent character of Simon Langham, who was about that time elevated to the dignity of abbot of this church‡.

The epitaph on the gravestone that covered the remains of Gervase, is among the worst of an age by no means remarkable for the elegance of inscriptive verse, and consists of the following distich:—

De regum genere pater hic Gervasius ecce
Monstrat defunctus, mors rapit omne genus.

In his time Osbert de Clare, who has already been mentioned as being sent to Rome on the mission to obtain the canonization of Edward the Confessor, was prior of the monastery. He possessed at that period the reputation of great learning, and was the author of several works, which are still extant; particularly an account of the life and miracles of the Confessor, which, probably, grew out of his embassy to the papal see§. There is also a collection of epistles from his

* Fuller's *Worthies*.

† Flete.

‡ This dreadful plague broke out in the northern parts of Asia, and from Greece passed through Italy into France; and having sensibly depopulated every state which it infected, at length reached England, where it proved so destructive, that, according to Stow, fifty thousand persons died of it in London. It made some amends, however, for its pestilential ravages, by sheathing, for a time at least, the sword of war; for it had increased to such a degree both in England and France, as to render it absolutely necessary for those rival and hostile nations to prolong the truce of Calais; which, from their mutual incapacity to continue the war, was extended to the 3d of September, 1354.

§ In the library of Bennet College, Cambridge.

pen, some of which are addressed to Adelida, abbess of Barking, on the subject of chastity*.

At the same time another of the monks of Westminster, Ralph Almsgiver, appears to have acquired some degree of literary distinction. He wrote and left behind him *Homilies on the Gospels and the Epistles*, and a discourse entitled *The End of the Sinner*. He died in the same year with Gervase.

This abbot appears also to have been an arbitrator with others in a dispute between the Bishop of Rochester and the monks there, concerning the manors of Lambeth and Kendenham, which were finally adjudged to the latter.

LAURENCE.

He was bred a monk at Durham, and held in high estimation there. On the death of William de Sancta Barbara, bishop of that see, Laurence, who was then either the archdeacon or precentor†, and the prior, a person of the same name, being the two persons who possessed the greatest influence in the monastery, became rival candidates for the vacant bishopric; but, not being able to effect their respective election, and unwilling to give way to each other, they joined their interests in favour of a third person; and Hugh Pudsay, nephew to King Stephen, succeeded to the contested mitre: for the choice of whom, however, they and others of the monks were excommunicated, and otherwise ill treated, by Henry Murdok, then Archbishop of York‡. They, however, maintained their point, and made an appeal to the court of Rome, where the election of Hugh Pudsay was established.

Some time after, Laurence, but for what reason has not been satisfactorily

* Cotton Library, *Vitellius*, A. 17.

† *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 719.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. I. p. 787.

ascertained, left Durham, and went to St. Alban's, from which place he was called by Henry II. in the language of Matthew Paris, *ex gremio hujus ecclesiæ assumptus est*, and, by the royal recommendation, elected Abbot of Westminster, on the removal of Gervase*.

The precise date of his election to this dignity is not known, any more than that of the deprivation of Gervase; though, as it has been already observed, it must have been in or before the year 1159.

At the time when Laurence entered on the government of this monastery, he found it in a most impoverished state, from the profuse conduct of his predecessor. In this necessitous condition he made application to Robert, the Abbot of St. Alban's, for pecuniary assistance, who lent him to the value of two hundred marks in money, horses, furniture, vestments, and other articles. Hence it is, that he is accused by Matthew Paris, in such severe terms, of injustice and ingratitude for wrongfully detaining lands from that abbey; a charge which has already been represented to be of a disputable character.

This abbot seems, also, to have engaged the king in his favour, on the principle, and no unreasonable one, that as Gervase, who was of the blood royal, had sold the lands of the abbey for his own personal gratification, he had a claim upon his majesty's remunerative bounty, to indemnify it in the way his generous spirit might dispose him, for the losses which it had thereby sustained.

Laurence appears, indeed, to have been in great favour at court, by the manner in which he was preferred to the abbacy; by the several offices in which he was employed; by procuring from the king and the Empress Matilda the reparation of and covering with lead several of the out-offices of the abbey, which had been suffered to decay; and by the restoration of those estates which had

* Matt. Paris, *Lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's*, p. 73.

been seized and ravaged by the Earl of Gloucester in the time of his predecessor. He had also acquired the favourable regard of Pope Alexander III. as appears from the letter which he addressed to the sovereign pontiff in behalf of Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London*.

He was more successful, as he certainly deserved to be, than Gervase de Blois, in his application to the papal court for the canonization of Edward the Confessor. It seems, indeed, to have been granted to him with a very complying acquiescence†.

There is still extant, and in print, a history of the life and miracles of that prince, written by Ealdred, Abbot of Rievaux, in the county of York, composed, by the direction of Laurence, as may be presumed, to satisfy the conscience of the pope. This work was dedicated to Henry II. and presented to the king when the Confessor's body was removed and enshrined in the year 1163.

It may appear rather extraordinary, that a prince, who had no claim to superior understanding, who was neither a kind husband to his excellent queen, nor a respectful son to his mother, should be honoured, not only with a most willing concurrence, but an ardent zeal, among all orders of the people, to procure his enrolment in the calendar of saints. The surprise, however, will cease, when it is considered, that his memory was very dear to his subjects, as being the last sovereign of the old Saxon race; that he was eminent for his devotion, and the rigid observance of every religious rite; that the Norman kings, as they pretended to ground their claim to the crown on his donation, were anxious to do every thing that might add a lustre to his name: while the monastery was not without its views in the aggrandizement of its founder, which would be universally considered as so honourable to its character, and prove, at the same time,

* *Epistolæ Thomæ Becket*, Brussellis, 1682, p. 548.

† Appendix, No. 3.

the means of adding to its wealth, by attracting the presence and bounteous offerings of devout people.

The church of Rome, indeed, never ceased to encourage a practice which helped to fill its coffers. The papal court, it is true, made it a matter of great apparent difficulty, and clothed its process with a succession of serious and solemn formalities: but, as Mr. Addison observes, there is good reason for believing that the interests of particular families or churches have had a great sway in canonization, especially if they could pay good prices for it. Pope Benedict XIV. when Archbishop of Bologna, published a very splendid work, in four volumes folio, on this important subject*.

This abbot also obtained the use of the mitre, ring, and gloves, which had been generally esteemed an exclusive part of the episcopal habit; but were often, to the great displeasure of the bishops, granted by the pope to such abbots as were considerable for wealth and power, or would pay largely to obtain these exterior marks of dignity†.

He also procured the appropriation of the churches of Battersea and Wandsworth for the Abbey of Westminster‡. This was the first example of a practice which has since made so great an inroad on the original and rightful maintenance of the English clergy§.

The same uncertainty prevails respecting the time when Abbot Laurence died, as of the period of his promotion. The author, who assigns April 11, 1176, may be correct as to the day of the month; but he was assuredly dead, and succeeded by Walter, the Prior of Winchester, in the preceding year.

* Bononiæ, 1734, 1735, 1737, 1738.

† Flete.

‡ Ibid.

§ *History of Impropriations*, by White Kennet, D.D. London, 1704.

He was buried with the other abbots in the south walk of the great cloister. His gravestone is not now discoverable; and, according to Widmore, where his name is visible, that of Vitalis should have been inscribed. The following lines composed his epitaph:—

Clauditur hoc tumulo vir quondam clarus in orbe,
Quo præclarus erat hic locus, est, et erit.
Pro meritis vitæ dedit illi Laurea nomen.
Detur ei vitæ Laurea pro meritis.

That he was a man of parts and learning appears from his having been delegated as a judge in several causes by the king, the pope, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as by his writings: and though it is not easy to distinguish his works from those of Laurence, Prior of Durham, with whom he is confounded by Leland, Bale, and Pits, on account of their bearing similar names, some excellent homilies on the festivals are generally believed to have proceeded from him.

WALTER.

It so happened that in the year 1175, Westminster and ten other abbies were vacant, and waited to be supplied with their respective abbots. King Henry II. accordingly commanded the attendance of the priors, and a considerable part of the monks of each monastery, at Woodstock; and for the due maintenance of his royal authority, to use the expression of the historian who relates the circumstance, ordered the different cloisters to choose strangers from other religious houses, and, as is most probable, subject to his particular nomination. Hence it followed, that Walter, the Prior of Winchester, succeeded Laurence as Abbot of Westminster*.

* *Decem Scriptores*, col. 587.

He was already acknowledged to be a man of learning, and had proved his possession of a persevering activity of mind, by the histories which he had written of two bishops of Winchester, William Gifford and Henry, brother to King Stephen*.

He was also one, and, as it appears, the chief, of the priors engaged in contending for the right of their class against the archdeacons, who, in the cathedrals with convents of monks attached to them, claimed the privilege which the deans possessed in other churches, to present the bishops elect to the metropolitans for consecration. Walter, it seems, succeeded in this dispute in favour of the priors.

He also procured from the pope, for the Abbots of Westminster, the use of the Dalmatic tunic and sandals to be added to the mitre, ring, and gloves; the grant of which his predecessor, Laurence, had obtained, but lived not to employ, as they did not arrive till after his death†. Abbot Walter, however, was not suffered to wear them; for, the first time he appeared in these sacred decorations, the pope's nuncio, who considered himself as not having been received at this place with sufficient respect, interdicted their use, and also deprived the prior of the liberty of entering into the choir.

It was at this time that the memorable quarrel about precedency took place between the archbishops, in the chapel called St. Catherine's, or the chapel of the infirmary in the little cloisters; when the Archbishop of York, in attempting to place himself on the right hand of the legate, had his robes torn off his back, besides being otherwise treated with a most degrading violence.

There had been previous contentions for precedency between the two archbishopries, but they had never before proceeded to that rude indecorum which

* *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 324.

† Flete.

appears to have disgraced them on the present occasion. Hugezun, the pope's legate, having, it seems, summoned a synod of all the bishops of England to meet at Westminster, the Archbishop of Canterbury seated himself on the right hand of the legate; upon which his brother of York, coming into the assembly with every mark of anger and disappointment, placed himself in his lap. This, it seems, exasperated the bishops who sat near him to so great a degree, that they plucked the Archbishop of York from his seat with indignation, and treated him so rudely both with their hands and their feet, nay, with sticks and staves, that had not the Archbishop of Canterbury interposed, and rescued him from their resentment, the consequences might have been fatal. At length, an end was put to the dispute, at least for some time; as, by the intercession of Henry, it was agreed between the two archbishops, that all their animosities should cease for five years, till the pleasure of the pope could be known. In the fourth year after, the affair seems to have been decided rather in favour of the see of York; as Pope Alexander determined that neither metropolitan should claim precedency of the other, but from the seniority of his ordination*.

Little is known of the transactions of Walter while he was Abbot of Westminster†. He appears, however, to have practised too ready a compliance in granting the estates of the church in fee-farm. The manor of Denham, in the county of Bucks; the tithes of Boleby, in Lincolnshire; the church of St. Alban, in Wood-street; what the abbey possessed in Staining-lane and Friday-street; and the manor of Paglesham, in Essex, were granted by him.

He appears to have felt a very great solicitude to perpetuate his memory by an anniversary festival, and accordingly ordered one of a more pompous character

* *Decem Scriptores*, col. 588.—Hugo Petri Leonis.—*Ibidem*, col. 582.

† Flete.

than had been performed for any of his predecessors: to provide for which he obtained an assignment of the profits issuing from the manor of Paddington*. Flete gives the following account of it:—

"The anniversary of the Abbot Walter was kept in the Church of West-
"minster on the day of the Saints Cosma and Damian, in the following manner:
"On the vigil of those saints the prior and convent were to sing *placebo* and a
"*dirge*, with three lessons as usual, accompanied with ringing of bells and solemn
"singings; while two torches were to be kept burning at his tomb from that
"vigil to the end of mass next day; which mass the prior, or somebody in his
"absence, was to sing: the almoner was then to distribute two quarters of corn,
"made into bread, at his tomb, according to the custom in those cases. For
"these purposes the manor of Paddington had been assigned; and if any
"monies arising from the manor remained after the charges of the anniversary
"were defrayed, the almoner was to apply it to good uses; and find for the
"convent, on the day of the aforesaid anniversary, symnells, wafers, &c. &c.
"and to each of the brothers one gallon of wine; and to place good ale before
"them all at every table, as is usual in those anniversaries, in a great tankard,
"of the same kind as the cellarer is used to find for strangers; and to prepare for
"those who dined in the refectory bread, wine, and ale, and two dishes of meat
"from the kitchen."

This expence, however, being afterwards thought too great, the entertainment was reduced to the loaves made of two quarters of wheat, which were on that day given to the poor by the almoner of the abbey.

Abbot Walter died September 27, 1191, and not in March, as mentioned by

* Flete, and from him in the Supplement to Gunton's *History of Peterborough*, p. 297.

Matthew Paris*, and was buried in the south part of the great cloisters. His gravestone has long since disappeared; and the words "ABBAS WALTERUS," cut in old letters on the wall, may be supposed to point out the part where he was interred. The following distich composed his epitaph :—

Hic tu qui pausas, dictus Walterius Abbas,
Ex aliis fueras, nec alienus eras.

WILLIAM POSTARD.

This person, who was prior of the monastery at the death of the last abbot, was unanimously elected to succeed him on the 9th day of October, 1191†. The election appears to have taken place before the lords justices of the kingdom, Richard I. being then absent on his romantic expedition to the Holy Land. The Bishop of London, who was also present, confirmed the election, and immediately installed the abbot with the usual ceremonies: on the following Sunday the new dignitary received, also, episcopal benediction from the same prelate before the high altar. It seems to have been thought necessary, that the government should be satisfied as to the person who might be elevated to the abbacy of this church, inasmuch as the crown was its last founder as well as most bountiful benefactor; and the abbot, from his high rank, wealth, and power, being a person of so great consideration.

Of the particular acts which characterized the conduct of Postard, no account remains. Flete mentions, in a general way, that his administration of the affairs of the abbey was very beneficial to it; and that he relieved the house, by his economical management, from a debt of fifteen hundred marks, a great encum-

* Page 162, l. 25, *Aprilis* being misprinted for *Octobris*.

† *Decem Scriptores*, col. 664.

berance in that age, with which he found it charged. The occasion of its being contracted does not appear, but it probably arose from soliciting the court of Rome for the Dalmatic tunic and sandals, the alienation of the lands by the Abbot Walter, and the extravagance of his anniversary.

William Postard died on the 4th day of May, in the year 1200, and in the second year of the reign of King John. He was buried, as all the preceding abbots had been since the conquest, on the south side of the great cloisters. His epitaph has as little to boast, in the way of classical composition, as those of his predecessors.

Postard Willelmus jacet in tellure sepultus,
Hic pater et pastor qui fuit ante prior.

RALPH DE ARUNDEL.

Matthew of Westminster and Flete both mention him under this title, though his proper surname was Papylion. The assumed name may be supposed to have arisen from the place of his birth, a circumstance which was not unusual with the abbots his successors. Diceto, who was Archdeacon of London, represents him, however, to be a native of that city*.

He was bred a monk of this abbey, and became, at length, the almoner of the house. He had acquired, as he well deserved, a reputation for learning, and was ranked among the most eminent pulpit orators of the period in which he flourished. He was particularly favoured and patronized by Abbot Laurence, who, according to Leland, appointed him prior of Hurley; which place, as it has been already mentioned, was made a cell to Westminster Abbey by the

* *Decem Scriptores*, col. 708.

founder of it, Geoffrey de Mandeville, in the time of the Conqueror; and consequently the nomination of its priors was vested in the abbots of the mother church*.

The chief monasteries held the cells attached to them in great dependance: for though the latter enjoyed their estates in separate possession, and had the exclusive management of them, they were, nevertheless, in other respects, in a state of acknowledged subjection. The abbots of the greater houses frequently selected from them such of their young monks who manifested superior talents or promised professional eminence; and they sometimes sent thither, by way of banishment, such of their own monastic brethren as were refractory, or had committed any offensive acts which called for a public mark of displeasure. Nor is it improbable that these cells or priories were originally furnished with residents as colonies from the mother abbies.

In matters of jurisdiction they were esteemed as a part only of their chief house: thus they sent no proxies to the triennial chapter of the Benedictines, as the mother house answered on that occasion for its cells. It also appears, that in the reign of Edward I. when the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Worcester proposed to visit Great Malvern, another cell belonging to Westminster Abbey, the plea against such visitation was, that the priory depended on the Church of Westminster, and was subject alone to the visitation of the abbot of that place.

Westminster had four of these cells, Hurley, Great Malvern, St. Bartholomew's at Sudbury, and the nunnery of Kilbourne. The abbey of St. Alban's had at least twice that number.

* *De Scriptis Britannicis*, p. 246.

From the priory of Hurley, Arundel was elevated to the abbacy of Westminster. The circumstance of his elevation is thus related* :—King John having commanded the prior and monks of Westminster to attend him at Northampton, for the purpose of supplying the vacancy in their church, they objected to the nomination of a stranger†, or to elect any one in the way termed *postulation*‡; and accordingly chose Ralph Arundel on the 30th day of November, in the year 1200.

The period of his government is not remarkable for any particular activity or exertion. Nothing more is related of it, than that he obtained the consent of the monks to celebrate with additional splendour the festivals of St. Vincent, St. Lawrence, St. Nicholas, and the translation of their patron St. Benedict. The term of it, however, appears to have been shortened by a misunderstanding which took place between him and the community. This interruption of the domestic harmony occasioned a visitation by the pope's legate, Nicolas, Bishop of Tusculum, who came to the monastery soon after Michaelmas, in the year 1213, where he passed eighteen days in a minute examination of the affairs and condition of the abbey§. This visitation concluded with the deposition of Arundel by the legate, who had lately been employed in deposing the abbots of Evesham and Bardeney. The sentence was executed on the 23d of January following by the Abbot of Waltham, who was especially deputed for that purpose. It is mentioned, that a part of the form of deprivation was the breaking the seal of the abbot publicly in the chapter-house.

* *Decem Scriptores*, col. 708.

† Noluerunt emendicatis uti suffragiis.—*Rad. de Decito inter decem Scriptores.*

‡ Postulation, in the canon law, signifies the chusing a person who cannot accept the office without a dispensation or leave from his superior.

§ Matt. Westminster, p. 94.

The offences for which he was deprived of his dignity are said to have been dilapidation and incontinence*; but if by the latter any single crime of that kind is to be understood, it is improbable that he should be liable to such a charge at the time of life which he had then attained. He must at this period have been an old man, thirty-nine years having passed away since the death of Abbot Laurence, with whom he was a great favourite, on account of his learning and eloquence; and who, having first appointed him to be almoner of Westminster, continued his patronage by afterwards nominating him prior of Hurley: to either of which offices, it is to be presumed, that he would not have been advanced without the necessary qualification of long monastic experience. It may, therefore, be concluded that he had openly entertained some person in the character of a wife or concubine, a licence from which all religious persons were, by their vow, most solemnly restrained†.

He was not, however, left without a suitable maintenance, as the pope's legate assigned to him for that purpose the manors of Sunbury and Toddington; which assignment was afterwards confirmed by the succeeding abbot, reserving to the monastery the church of Sunbury.

Arundel died in the year 1223, and, notwithstanding his deposition from the abbacy of Westminster, his remains were allowed to be interred in the nave of the church: he was, indeed, the first abbot who is known to have received a burial within it‡. The muse of the cloister, it may be presumed, was forbidden to sing over the disgraced monk; and it might proceed from a principle of charity, that no epitaph appears to prolong his name.

* Matt. Paris, p. 246.

† It is to be observed, that it was the notoriety of the act that rendered it criminal; for, by the 28th canon of the Synod at Oxford, held in 1222, clergymen are prohibited to keep concubines publicly in their houses, or to visit them elsewhere, so as to occasion scandal.

‡ *Chron. de Dunstaple*, p. 139.

He is said to have published a volume of sermons by the encouragement of his friend and patron the Abbot Laurence; as well as a volume of homilies, of which Leland gives a favourable character; but whether they are now in being does not appear to be known*.

WILLIAM HUMEZ, OR DE HUMETO.

He was of a good family in Normandy, and the last abbot which the Church of Westminster received from that country†. Richard de Humeto was constable of Normandy in the reign of Henry II.‡ and William de Humeto filled the same office under Richard I.§

This ecclesiastic was bred in the monastery of St. Stephen, at Caen, in Normandy‖; and was called from thence to be made Prior of Frampton, otherwise Frompton, in Dorsetshire, which was at that time a cell to Caen; and continued such till, as a priory alien, it was suppressed by Henry V. Humez was recommended by King John, in the year 1207, to be elected Abbot of Ramsey, but on the refusal of the monks to receive the royal recommendation, the king kept the abbey vacant for seven years; till, in consequence of the deprivation of Arundel, Humez was named by the pope's legate to be Abbot of Westminster**.

Giraldus Cambrensis, a contemporary writer, allows the deposition of the Abbot Arundel to have been an act of justice; at the same time he condemns the

* Leland, p. 246.

† W. Stephan *in Vitæ Tho. Becket*, p. 63.

‡ *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1105.

§ *Ibid.* col. 669.

‖ Matt. Westminster.

** Willis's *Mitred Parliamentary Abbots*, vol. I. p. 154.

mode which was employed in substituting his successor. On this authority it may be presumed that the legate took the nomination upon himself, or by way of *provision*, and without any election or concurrence of the monastery*.

The popes appear to have made a common practice of adopting these provisions. Indeed, they became so frequent as to be a subject of general complaint, and to call for the interference of the legislature, which thought it necessary to restrain them by successive acts of parliament†. The power thus assumed by the pope was executed in the following manner :—

When the court of Rome had, on an appeal, as in the case of a contested election, declared such election irregular and void; or when the person elected, on his applying for confirmation, as bishops and abbots exempted were obliged to do, appeared to be unqualified for the office; or, as in the present case, when the abbot, on a complaint, was found to have misconducted himself; or when the person elected happened to die on his journey to Rome to obtain confirmation; the popes, without leaving the election to the proper patrons, or even consulting them,

* Flete, nevertheless, states a regular election. "In dominica inventionis sanctæ crucis electus "est in abbatem."

† In the 25th, 27th, and 38th years of the reign of Edward III. strong penal laws were devised against *provisors;* which enact severally, that the court of Rome shall present or collate to no bishopric or living in England; and, that whosoever disturbs any patron in the presentation to a living by virtue of a papal provision, such provisor shall pay fine and ransom to the king at his will, or suffer imprisonment, &c. But though that monarch passed the statute of provisors, he took little care of its execution, and the parliament made frequent complaints of his negligence. In order, therefore, to check the subsequent attempts of the pope to lessen the operations of this statute, and even to obtain its repeal, an act was passed in the succeeding reign, in the 13th year of Richard II. which not only confirmed the statute of provisors, but guarded it with additional restrictions. These two reigns are particularly distinguished for the laws which were passed in them for depressing the civil power of the pope.

frequently appointed others in their places; and in this manner provided the vacant bishopric or monastery with a pastor by their own special authority. Thus Theodore was nominated Archbishop of Canterbury, by Pope Vitalianus, in the place of Wighard, who was sent over by Egbert, King of Kent, in the year 668, for confirmation, and died at Rome. The papal see afterwards extended this illegitimate authority* so far as to grant reversions of benefices, and name successors to the existing incumbents.

In a short time after his promotion, Abbot Humez was appointed by King John one of his commissioners or plenipotentiaries to treat for a peace between him and the King of France†.

It was no uncommon act of piety in those times to add chapels to cathedrals, and particularly to monastic churches, in commemoration of some patron or tutelary saint: thus, in the abbacy of Humez, a chapel was begun at the east end of his church in honour of the Virgin Mary. King Henry III. is said to have laid the first stone of this structure on Whitsun eve, in the year 1220; and those who assign fifty years to the building of the church, date it from the foundation of this chapel, as the interval to the year 1269, when the church itself was finished for the performance of divine service, comprehends that period. This chapel of the Virgin Mary, though distinct in its offices, was not a separate building. It stood on the spot which is now occupied by Henry VIIth's chapel; and, to accommodate the erection of that structure, it was taken down. The body of this new abbey church was not begun till the year 1245, and it is most probable that this chapel had been completed some years before.

Another remarkable occurrence took place during the time of this abbot. It was a warm and active contest between Eustachius de Fauconberg, Bishop of

* Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* book iv. chap. 1.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom I. p. 191.

London, and the Monastery of Westminster, on the important and interesting subject of jurisdiction. The bishop, it appears, claimed a right to visit the abbey, to be met on the occasion with solemn procession, to receive procurations, to consecrate chapels, to ordain the monks, and to exercise every other function connected with episcopal authority. The monastery pleaded an exemption; and, in support of the plea, produced the charters of several successive kings, the bulls of various popes, and a grant from St. Dunstan when he was Bishop of London*.

Wharton, who has given a very satisfactory account of this transaction, has clearly proved, that the charters to which the monks of Westminster referred were of a very doubtful character; and that the grant of St. Dunstan, in particular, was an absolute forgery†.

An appeal was at first made by both the contending parties to the pope; but it was afterwards agreed to refer the cause to the arbitration of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, with Thomas, Prior of Merton, and Richard, Prior of Dunstaple. To their judgment, as persons presumed to be duly qualified to conclude the business with wisdom and justice, the matter in issue was finally submitted; and they at length decided, that the Abbey of Westminster was wholly exempt from the jurisdiction of the see of London, and immediately subject to the pope: a decision which appears to have been founded rather on the rules of the canon law than on the principles of constitutional justice. But, to give some satisfaction to the Bishop of London, they transferred the manor of Sunbury from the monastery to his see, and the church of that place to the chapter of St. Paul's.

The point of jurisdiction had already been a frequent subject of contention

* Matt. Paris, *Vitæ Abbatum S. Albani.*

† Wharton *de Episcopis Londinensibus*, p. 79.

between the Bishops of London and this monastery, but the matter was now fully and finally adjusted, and the exemption of the latter from any claims of that nature completely established.

In the time of this abbot a confederation took place between the monasteries of Westminster and St. Edmonsbury, which gave a mutual claim to civil reception and hospitable entertainment, when business led the members of their respective houses to the vicinity of each other. These accommodating agreements were not unusual between the monastic institutions*. Indeed, many of them were obliged, by the law of their institution, to give a special reception to travellers: an essential convenience at a time when inns, or places of public entertainment, were no where to be found but in the cities and principal towns.

No other circumstance is recorded of this abbot, than that he accompanied William de Trumpington, Abbot of St. Alban's, to the fourth Lateran council, held by Innocent III. in the year 1215; and that he, with the Bishop of Salisbury, the Abbot of Waltham, and the Prior of Trinity, London, were appointed arbitrators to determine some disputes between Hugh de Wells, Bishop of London, and the Abbot of St. Alban's, in the year 1219†.

Having presided in the monastery eight years, Humez departed this life on the 20th day of April, 1222, in the sixth year of the reign of Henry III. He was buried in the south walk of the cloisters. A mitred effigy decorated his gravestone, which is said to have been placed at the head of Abbot Gervase; and if so, the stone now marked for Vitalis must belong to him‡. This inscription was engraved around it, in Saxon characters:

Ortus ab Humeto Willelmus, huic venerando
Præfuit iste loco, nunc tumulatus humo.

* *Archives of the Church.*

† Matt. Paris, *Vitæ Abbatum S. Albani*, p. 116, 130.

‡ Flete.

RICHARD DE BERKING,

Having been bred a monk of this church, was advanced to the office of prior, and afterwards elevated to the dignity of abbot. He availed himself of the liberty he enjoyed from the award of the arbitrators so lately mentioned; and preferred the inaüguratory benediction of the Bishop of Winchester to that of the Bishop of London, which he received on the 18th of September, 1222*.

In the same year, according to Matthew Paris†, though a contemporary author mentions the circumstance as having occurred in the year following‡, a furious quarrel took place between the citizens of London and the people of the abbey; which, as it became a very serious affair, and is mentioned by all the historians, demands a particular attention.

On St. James's day, it was usual for the citizens of London and the suburbians of Westminster to contend in wrestling and other sports of strength and activity. On this occasion, the Londoners having proved victorious in their several contests, the steward of the abbey, who was mortified at the event, and zealous for the honour of his neighbours, appointed another trial of skill on the 1st of August; when, having secretly armed his people, they employed the advantage which they possessed in ill-treating the citizens; who, not suspecting the design, were by no means prepared to contend against such a stratagem. Irritated at this unmanly treatment, the latter hurried back into the city, rang the alarum-bell, and having assembled a numerous body of the Londoners, began to deliberate in what manner they should revenge the affront which had been received.

The mayor, whose name was Serle, manifested his prudence and discretion by advising them to apply to the abbot, who would inflict a punishment on the

* Matt. Westminster.

† P. 315.

‡ *Chronicon de Dunstaple.*

offenders, which, in his opinion, should be considered as a sufficient satisfaction to the city for the outrage which had been committed against its inhabitants. But one Constantine Fitz-Arnulph, a rich and factious citizen, urged them to take into their own hands the means of revenge, and undertook to lead them on to pursue it. Thus inflamed, they proceeded to Westminster, where they pulled down the steward's house, and did considerable damage to the buildings about the abbey, employing at the same time, with great uproar, and in a treasonable manner, the name of Louis, the dauphin of France*.

In consequence of this tumultuous conduct of the Londoners, the abbot hastened into the city to Philip Dawbenny, one of the king's council, to make complaint of the injuries which his abbey had sustained; when the citizens, having received intelligence of his visit, and naturally suspecting the object of it, surrounded the house, took away twelve of his horses, and treated his servants in a most unmerciful manner. Dawbenny in vain endeavoured to pacify the enraged people; and while he was thus employed, the abbot, alarmed at the danger which appeared to threaten him, passed through a back door of the house, made his way to the Thames, where he fortunately found a boat, in which he escaped; though not without being assailed by the mob, who pelted him violently with stones, till the rowers had taken him out of the reach of their fury.

On being informed of this tumult, Hubert, who at that time held the office of justiciary of England, proceeded to the Tower, and sent for the mayor, in order to make enquiry into the authors of the disturbance. The result of this inquisition was fatal to Constantine Fitz-Arnulph, who, with two others of the ringleaders, was condemned to be hanged, and the sentence was speedily executed; though the

* Louis, the dauphin of France, had invaded England but a few years before, and had been in possession of London, where he had received very unequivocal proofs of attachment. This circumstance accounts for the rebellious use made of his name on this occasion.

former made an offer of fifteen thousand marks to avert it from himself. Several others of the offenders were dismembered of their hands and feet.

This severe execution occasioned much ill-will in the city towards the monastery, from whose complaints it originated, as well as against the justiciary himself: nor did the court escape very vehement accusations of injustice and cruelty. From this time, the government appeared to entertain unfavourable suspicions of the citizens of London, and to regard them as actuated by a spirit of tumult and sedition. This consideration seems to have come in aid of the credit of Abbot de Berking and his successors at court, and is supposed to have influenced Henry III. to grant, at various times, to the Abbey of Westminster certain charters of privileges, which the city as often represented to be infringements of its rights. Indeed, during the assumed power of Simon de Montfort, the abbey was compelled to surrender them; but after that nobleman's defeat at the battle of Evesham, the king was pleased to order them to be restored.

This abbot enjoyed, in a distinguished manner, the favour and confidence of his sovereign; and was, moreover, a considerable person in the state, as appears from the high and important offices which he was called to fill. He was a privy counsellor, chief baron of the Exchequer, and at length lord treasurer. He was also appointed, in the year 1245, one of the lords justices of the kingdom, during Henry's absence on his hostile expedition into Wales. This appears from the excuse allowed by the pope, at the intercession of Henry, for de Berking's non-attendance at a general council then summoned; it being stated by the letters which passed on the occasion, that the Bishop of Carlisle and the Abbot of Westminster were the king's deputies or regents while he was absent from England*. He was likewise a witness to a confirmation of *Magna Charta* in this reign.

* Matt. Paris, p. 657.

He employed the interest which he had at court to obtain several charters for his abbey, particularly the charter of liberties and privileges, called the Great Charter, from its being of greater extent than any which had preceded it*. He acquired another also for eight bucks yearly out of Windsor forest†; and a third relating to fines and returns of writs‡.

He also received the pope's permission to give the solemn benediction or blessing to the people, and the first tonsure to such of the monks as entered into holy orders; ceremonials which belonged of common right exclusively to the bishops.

He presented to the abbey estates of the annual value of three hundred marks; the chief of which was the moiety of the manors of Morton-Folet, of Longdon, and of Chadesley, in Worcestershire, which he had purchased from some of the female heirs of the family of the Folets§.

He made a composition with his monastery for the purpose of augmenting the allowance of the monks, and in other respects for the accommodation of his cloister. This new arrangement proved so much to the satisfaction of his monastic brethren, that they applied to the court of Rome, and procured a confirmation of it from Pope Gregory IX.‖

As an act of piety, he ordered the feast established in honour of the relics of his church, and especially that of the translation of Edward the Confessor, to be celebrated with additional solemnity and magnificence**.

* Matt. Paris, p. 605.

† Anno Hen. III. 19. printed in the *Annals of Burton*, p. 285.

‡ In the same year of Hen. III.

§ In the 27th year of Hen. III.

‖ Flete.

** Ibid.

In the year 1231, and during the administration of this abbot, a suit at law was commenced between the chapter of Westminster and the parson of Rotherhithe, in Surry, for the tithe of salmon caught in his parish. The monks pleaded a miracle as the ground of their claim: they asserted that St. Peter himself had consecrated their church, and at the time of his performing that sacred office had given them the tithe of all salmon at any time thereafter caught in the river Thames: and such was the credit given to this legendary story, that the parson found himself compelled to yield up the half of that tithe. The claim of the abbey on the Thames was co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the corporation of London, which is from Yenlade, near Gravesend, to Staines, in Middlesex; and the comparative scarcity of such fish which took place in after times is attributed to the ministers of the parishes on the banks of the river, who interposed to prevent the fishermen from taking their tithe of fish to the abbey*.

In January 1223-4, the Bishop and Prior of Ely were commissioned by the pope to visit this monastery; but they did nothing more than frame some domiciliary statutes to regulate the conduct of the abbot in particular; of the monks in general; of such as were employed in the infirmary, and of the *obedientiarii*, or those who were occupied in the subordinate offices of the establishment†.

In the preceding year the pope had appointed certain abbots of the Cistercian and Premonstratensian orders to visit the exempted monasteries: but, as these visitors did not behave with a suitable discretion, and exercised besides an unnecessary rigour, the monks of Westminster, of St. Edmondsbury and St. Augustin at

* Flete, c. 13.

† Cotton Library, *Julius*, D. 11.

Canterbury, appealed to the court of Rome, when others were appointed to fulfil that ungracious office*.

A dispute also arose between Abbot de Berking and Robert Bishop of Lincoln, a prelate remarkable for the turbulence of his temper, concerning the jurisdiction of the church of Heswel; the latter having forcibly dispossessed the monk who was the rector, and denied the abbot's claim to the presentation. De Berking, however, strenuously resisted this invasion of his right, and at length obtained the interposition of the king, who ordered the difference to be composed, by assigning the church to the abbot and the vicarage to the bishop†.

This abbot, after a wise and exemplary administration of the affairs, both spiritual and temporal, of his monastery, during a period of twenty-four years, died on the 23d day of November, 1246, and was interred before the middle altar in St. Mary's chapel, then lately erected‡. His remains were protected by a tomb of marble decorated with appropriate embellishments; on the foot whereof two wax tapers of one pound and a half each were kept continually burning: for the maintenance of which ceremonial the abbot had assigned twenty-four shillings of land called Eagrave§. This tomb being removed in the abbacy of William de Colchester, but for what particular reason does not appear, a flat stone of marble was laid level with the pavement in its place by William Combe, one of the monks who then filled the office of sacrist‖.

This monumental slab continued till Henry VII. caused the chapel of St. Mary to be pulled down, to give place to the beautiful structure which bears the

* Matt. Paris, p. 382.

† Ibid. p. 570.

‡ Flete.

§ *Annales de Waverlee*, an. 1246.

‖ *Lib. Consuetud.* Cot. Lib.

name of its royal founder, when it was removed and placed in the area at the foot of the steps ascending to that chapel, where it still continues. It appears to have been originally surrounded with a rim or ledge of brass, and still retains the indented space where the form of a mitred abbot in that metal had been inserted; and which, with its other ornaments, is supposed to have been stolen. On the brazen rim this epitaph was inscribed:

Ricardus Berking prior, et post inclitus abbas,
Henrici regis prudens fuit este minister:
Hujus erat prima laus insula regis opima,
Altera laus æque Thorp census, Ocham decimæque,
Tertia Mortonæ castrum simili ratione,
Et regis quarta de multis commoda carta.
Clementis festo mundo migravit ab isto,
M Domini C bis XL sextoque sub anno.
Cui detur venia per te, pia virgo, Maria.

The general character of de Berking has already been mentioned; and if some of his predecessors, as Gilbert, Crispin and Laurence of Durham, were more profound in theological learning; in the wisdom of his conduct, and the experience necessary to his station, he greatly excelled them. In the government of his monastery, in affectionate regard to his brethren of the cloister, and in promoting the general prosperity of the establishment submitted to his administration, he had no superior among those who preceded or followed him; so that Flete appears to be fully justified when he recommends him as an example to all succeeding abbots. Nor should it be passed over as a proof of his superior understanding and discernment, that he formed and introduced into the king's service several of his monks, who appear in history as men of high consideration; such as Richard de Crokesley, who succeeded him in the great ecclesiastical office of Abbot of Westminster, and will be mentioned hereafter, with

Le Grass and Theobald, who were both priors of Hurley. Le Grass was employed abroad by the king on different occasions*: he was also, by royal recommendation, elected Abbot of Evesham†, and afterwards promoted to the great seal‡. He died in France while he was engaged in the king's service, and immediately after his nomination to the bishopric of Litchfield and Coventry. Matthew Paris represents him as a man of excellent character and superior talents§.

In the time of Abbot de Berking lived Roger Black, a monk of this monastery, who was an eminent divine and a doctor in divinity of the university of Oxford. He is memorable for the sermons which he composed, and died in the year 1241.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom I. p. 344.

† Matt. Paris, p. 420.

‡ Ibid. p. 434, 519, 597.

§ Ibid. p. 614.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

FROM THE REBUILDING OF THE CHURCH BY HENRY III. TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERY BY HENRY VIII.

HENRY III. being impressed, according to some of the contemporary historians*, with a pious veneration for the memory of Edward the Confessor, began to build a chapel, which has been already mentioned, to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary, called the new work at Westminster, and laid himself the first stone on the Saturday immediately before his coronation, in the fifth year of his reign, 1220†; and twenty-five years after, in consequence of the decayed condition of the walls and steeple of the church itself, he caused the whole building to be pulled down, in order to rebuild it in a style of superior stateliness and magnificence.

* Robert of Gloucester, &c. He was a monk in the abbey of Gloucester in this reign, and composed a rhyming chronicle of the kings of England, in which he adopted the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth: nor would it justify any quotation but of the events of his own time. His work was printed in two volumes at Oxford, in 1724.

† Henry III. was first crowned at Gloucester, on the death of his father, by the Bishops of Winchester and Bath, in the presence of the pope's legate: Westminster, whose abbey was considered as the canonical place of the coronation of the kings of England, being, at that time, with the city of London, in the possession of Henry's enemies. But when peace was established, and the government of the kingdom settled, the king made his entry into London, and was crowned, a second time, in the year 1220, with all due pomp and solemnity, in Westminster Abbey, and with the same crown which had been worn on a similar occasion by Edward the Confessor.

As this monarch was remarkable for the exterior sanctity of his conduct, and an unremitting attention to the offices of religion, it may be reasonably presumed, that his pious disposition had a leading influence in promoting a design peculiarly formed for the gratification of it: at the same time, when the dignified offices which Abbot de Berking possessed, the large portion of royal favour which he enjoyed, and the warm and unreserved impressions which the king was habitually prepared to receive from those whom he cherished with his regard, are taken into consideration, it may be readily believed, that the suggestions of this eminent ecclesiastic had their full share in determining his sovereign to engage in the pious and splendid work.

Of this structure, the boast of that distant age when it was erected, and which continues to be the pride of the city that, in the course of many centuries, has arisen around it, some account may here be expected to be given: and when that has been done by the greatest architect this country has produced, who was professionally employed to examine and repair it, and whose genius, at length, advanced it so much nearer perfection by the western towers which he completed, it would be an arrogant attempt to give any description but that which he has left, and in any other words but those which his scientific mind employed to convey it.

An historical and architectonical Account of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, in Westminster, and of the Repairs; in a letter from Sir Christopher Wren, in the year 1713, *to the Right Reverend Doctor Francis Atterbury, Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester**.

My Lord,

When I had the honour to attend your lordship to congratulate you on your episcopal dignity, and to pay that respect which particularly concerned myself as one in your service, employed in the chief direction of the

* Wren's *Parentalia*.

works and repairs of the collegiate church of St. Peter, in Westminster, you were pleased to give me this seasonable admonition: that I should consider my advanced age; and though I had already made fair steps in the repairs of that ancient and ruinous fabric, yet you thought it reasonable that I should leave a memorial of what I had done, and what my thoughts are for carrying on the works for the future.

In order to give an account of what I have already done, it may be proper, in the first place, to describe the state of the fabric as I found it; which, being the work of near five hundred years, through so many ages, and the reigns of so many kings, it may be necessary to consider the modes of building in those several ages: such, at least, as I am able at present to collect, I shall beg leave to discourse a little upon.

That, in the time of the Romans, there was a temple dedicated to Apollo, in Thorney Island (the place anciently so called where the church now stands), and ruined by an earthquake in the reign of Antoninus Pius, I can hardly assent to. The Romans did not use, though in their colonies, to build so slightly: the ruins of much more ancient times shew their works even at this age: the least fragment of cornice or capital would demonstrate their handy work. Earthquakes do not break stones to pieces, nor would the Picts be at the pains: but I suppose, that the monks of Westminster, finding that the Londoners made pretence to a temple of Diana, where now the cathedral of St. Paul stands (many stags' horns having been there found in the ruins), would not be behind hand with them in antiquity: yet I must assert, that when I began to build the new church of St. Paul, and on that occasion examined the old foundations, and rummaged all the ground thereabouts, I could not perceive any footsteps of such a temple, and therefore can give no more credit to Apollo than to Diana.

To pass over the fabulous account, that King Lucius founded a little church here in the year of our Lord 170, out of the ruins of the temple of Apollo, it is

certainly with better authority, that Sebert, King of the East Saxons, built a monastery here, in the year 605, which, as it is said, being destroyed by the Danes, was, about three hundred and sixty years after, repaired by King Edgar, who died in the year 975. This, it is probable, was a good strong building, after the manner of the age, not much altered from the Roman way.

We have some forms of this ancient Saxon way, which was with piers or round pillars stronger than Tuscan or Doric, with round-headed arches and windows. Such was Winchester cathedral of old, and such, at this day, the royal chapel in the White Tower of London, the chapel of St. Cross, the chapel of Christ Church in Oxford, formerly an old monastery, and divers others which I need not name, built before the conquest; and such was St. Paul's built in the time of King Rufus.

King Edward the Confessor *repaired* this abbey of King Edgar's*; and a description of it has been published from an ancient manuscript, the sense of which I translate into a language proper for builders, and as I can understand it.

" The principal area or nave of the church being raised high, and vaulted with square and uniform ribs, is turned circular to the east. This, on each side, is strongly fortified with a double vaulting of the aisles in two stories, with their pillars and arches. The cross building was contrived to contain the choir in the middle, and, the better to support the lofty tower, rose with a plainer and lower vaulting; which tower, then spreading with artificial winding stairs, was continued with plain walls to its timber roof, which was well covered with lead."

These ancient structures are without buttresses, only with thicker walls. The windows were very narrow and lattised; and King Alfred is praised for inventing lanthorns to keep in the lamps in the churches.

* According to all our historians, he rebuilt it. Sulcardus says, " Monasterium est dirutum ut " surgeret nobilius." William of Malmsbury, and Matthew Paris from him, " Ecclesiam ædificati- " onis genere novo fecit;" and Matthew of Westminster, " a fundamentis construxerat."

In the time of King Henry III. the custom prevailed of building chapels behind the altars to the blessed Virgin. What this chapel was is not now to be discovered. I suppose the foundations of it are now under the steps of King Henry VIIth's chapel; and this work, possibly semicircular (as afterwards four more were added without side of the aisles), *was also intended for his own (Henry IIId's) sepulture*;* some of his own relations lying now just before these steps, and may be supposed to be within his chapel: *and it must be of this he laid the first stone in the year* 1220†; for it was in 1245, twenty-five years after, *that he took down the greatest part of the church, as it is recorded, to rebuild it,* (the old founda-

* This appears to be a mistake; for Richard de Berking, the abbot in whose time this chapel was finished, and who died in 1246, was buried before the altar, the chief place in it, and had a raised marble tomb.

† Matt. Paris states as follows, page 310. Ed. 1640:—"Sabbatho autem in vigilia Pentecostes, "inceptum est novum opus capellæ beatæ Virginis apud Westmonasterium, rege Henrico existente "fundatore, et primum lapidem operis in fundamento ponente."—Matthew of Westminster also appears to confirm the foregoing account, page 109, Ed. 1570: "Rege Henrico Tertio existente ad "hoc persuasore, fundatore, et primi lapidis in fundamento operis positore." These authorities rather tend to the supposition, that the king was the sole founder; but both these historians must be understood with some allowance. Henry III. was then but a child, not thirteen years of age, as he was born the 1st of October, 1207; and could not, therefore, be the adviser, otherwise than as he was influenced by those about him; and as to his being the founder, that, in the sense of the word as it is now used, cannot be true. There are instruments still remaining in the archives of the abbey, in one of which the abbot and convent grant many spiritual benefits of their church to such as shall contribute towards the work; and in others, rents and tenements are given by private persons to promote the building. The king could not be more, therefore, than a principal benefactor, which there is every reason to suppose that he was; for on the very next day after he had laid the first stone of the chapel, being Whitsunday, his coronation was repeated in this church; which, as it has been already observed, could not be performed at his accession in the year 1216, when the place was in the hands of his enemies.

tions remaining) according to the new mode, which came into fashion after the holy war*.

We call this now the Gothic mode of building, as the Italians denominated whatever was not after the Roman way, though the Goths were rather destroyers than builders. I think it should rather be called the *Saracen* way, for those people wanted neither arts nor learning : nor can it be denied, that after we in the west lost both, we borrowed again from them, out of their Arabic books, what they with great

* Matthew Paris, who lived in that time, gives the following account.—" Eodem anno rex . . . . . " Ecclesiam Sancti Petri Westmonasteriensem jussit ampliari, et dirutis, cum turri, muris partis " orientalis, præcepit novos, videlicet decentiores suis sumptibus construi, et residuo, videlicet " occidentali parti, coaptari." What this writer says respecting the king's being at the sole expence of this latter work is of undoubted authority. It is confirmed by another old and contemporary historian, Thomas Wykes, who was a regular canon of the order of St. Augustin in Osney abbey, near Oxford, in page 661 of his *History or Chronicle of England*:—" Ecclesiam monasterii West- " monasteriensis, quam idem rex . . . . . de propriis fisci regalis exitibus . . . . . a fundamentis " construxerat." It appears from Madox, in his *History of the Exchequer*, that there was a particular office of receipt for the money to be employed in erecting this superb structure; and several large sums appear to be assigned in the king's accounts for that purpose. In 1246 (*a*), he ordered to this use two thousand five hundred and ninety-one pounds, due from the widow of one David of Oxford, a Jew. In 1254 (*b*), his treasurer and the barons of the Exchequer received the royal injunctions to apply three thousand marks yearly towards forwarding the work. In 1258 (*c*), he reserved a thousand marks from the profits of the estates of the abbot of Westminster, during the vacancy after Abbot Crokesley's death : and in 1270, (*d*) it is certified, that there had been applied to the same work three thousand seven hundred and fifty-four pounds, paid by a lady, whose name was Alice Lacy, for eleven years custody of her son's estate. An account of the whole expence is no where to be found; but it appears from the archives of the church, that in the year 1261 the charges amounted to somewhat more than twenty-nine thousand six hundred pounds.

(*a*) Madox, 549.—(*b*) Rob. Vascon, 38. Hen. III. M. 4.—(*c*) Cot. Lib. *Faustina*, A. 3.—(*d*) Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities.*

diligence had translated from the Greeks. They were zealots in their religion; and wherever they had conquered, which they did with amazing rapidity, they erected mosques and caravanseras in haste, which obliged them to adopt another way of building; for they built their mosques round, disliking the christian way of crosses: the old quarries, whence the ancients took the large marbles for whole columns and architraves, were neglected, and they thought both impertinent.

Their carriages were by camels: their buildings therefore were fitted for small stones, and columns of their own fancy of many pieces; and their arches were pointed without key-stones, which they thought too heavy. The reasons were the same in our northern climates, abounding in freestone, but wanting marble. The crusades gave us an idea of this form; after which King Henry built this church, not by a model well digested at first, for I think the chapels without the aisles were an after-thought; the buttresses between the chapels remaining being useless, if they had been raised together with them; and the king having opened the east end for St. Mary's chapel, he thought to make more chapels for sepulture, which was acceptable to the monks after licence was obtained from Rome to bury in churches, a custom not in use before.

The king's intention was certainly to make up the cross only to the westward, for thus far it is of a different manner than the rest more westward, built after his time, as the pillars and spandrils of the arches shew. *I am apt to think that the king did not live to complete his intention**, nor to reach four intercolumns west of the tower: the walls of this part might possibly be carried up in his time; but the

* "Iste Henricus rex inchoavit novam fabricam ecclesiæ Westmonasteriensis, sed non perfecit," are the words of William Rishanger, who succeeded Matthew Paris in the office of historiographer of the abbey of St. Alban's, and continued his history. The king died in the year 1272, and Fabian, from whom Fox and Stowe have obtained their information, reports, that in 1285 the new work of the Church of Westminster was fully finished and completed to the end of the choir.

vaulting now covering the choir, though it be more tricked and gilded, is without due care in the masonry, and is the worst performed of all done before.

*It is said to have been fifty years in building**, which, if we reckon from 1220 to when he laid the first stone in St. Mary's chapel (now buried under that of King Henry VII.) ends two years before his death: but it was in 1245 he pulled down the old, which surely must be before he built the new work: then the stone vault was performed twenty-three years after his death, in the reign of King Edward I. But, alas! it was now like to have been all spoiled: the monks would have a cloister, but scrupled, I suppose, at moving some venerable bodies laid between the buttresses. Then comes a bold but ignorant architect, who undertakes to build the cloister, so that the buttresses should be without the cloister spanning over it, as may be seen in the section. This was a dangerous attempt, as it is by due consideration of the static principles, and the right poising of the weight of the butments to the arches, that good architecture depends, and the butments ought to have equal gravity on both sides.

Although this was done to flatter the humour of the monks, the architect should have considered, that new work carried very high would shrink: from hence the walls above the windows are forced out ten inches, and the ribs broken. I could not discern this failure to be so bad, till the scaffold over the choir was raised to give a close view of it, and then I was amazed to find it had not quite fallen. This is now amended with all care, and I dare promise it shall be much stronger and securer than ever the first builders left it.

After what had been done by King Henry III. and his successor, it is said the work

* It appears in the *Chronicle* of Thomas Wykes, that on the 13th of October, 1269, the body of the Confessor was removed, with great ceremony, into the new shrine or tomb made for it; and that on the same day the monks performed divine service, for the first time, in the new-built church. It may here be repeated, that the interval of 1220 and 1269 is precisely fifty years.

*was carried farther by the abbot and monks towards the west**. I perceive the contiguous cloister is continued after the manner it was begun by King Henry III. with butments spanning over the cloisters, which they were necessitated to proceed upon according as it had been begun, though by an error not then to be amended, till it was carried beyond the cloister: but then they proceeded with regular butments answerable to the north side till they came to the west front. This west vault was proceeded on with much better care and skill, and was a work of many years.

During the reigns of the three succeeding Edwards and King Richard II. I suppose there was a great intermission or slackness of work till the Lancastrian line came in; for then in the very first bay of this work I find in the vaulting and in the key-stones the rose of Lancaster. In the tumultuous and bloody wars between the two houses of York and Lancaster little was done to the abbey, but by the zeal of the abbots, who drove the work on slowly to the west end, which was never completely finished†.

* A short time previous to the termination of the reign of Edward III. Cardinal Simon Langham gave in two years six hundred marks, as appears from the archives of the church, and something was done about pulling down and altering in the western part: and he, dying in 1376, bequeathed a considerable sum to the fabric, which, though it was probably intended for the body of the church, Abbot Litlington applied for the service of the outbuildings.

† About the twelfth year of Richard II. part of the old building was taken down, and the work prosecuted. The king, besides several sums of money, gave the revenues of two priories alien, Stoke Clare and Folkstone; and by his will, had it stood, left most of his jewels to the same use (*a*). During the former part of Henry IVth's reign the work proceeded very tardily, and in the latter part was, in a great measure, if not altogether, suspended. Henry V. renewed the architectural operations, and granted one thousand marks yearly, five hundred out of the hanaper, and five hundred from the customs of wool; and sometimes, also, contributed extra sums of money to forward the work (*b*). During the long reign of Henry VI. though some, but very little, progress was made; and the only benefit this

(*a*) Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom VIII. p. 76.—(*b*) *Ibid.* tom IX. p. 78.

church received from that prince was in the year 1448, when, on the dormitory of the monks being consumed by fire, he remitted sixty-nine pounds, being the half of a tenth which the convent was to pay. In the beginning of the reign of Edward IV. no assistance appears to have been received from that monarch; but after the queen, in the year 1470, had taken sanctuary in the abbey, and been treated with great respect by the abbot, the king gave, at different times, fourscore oaks for the purposes of the building, and about two hundred and fifty pounds in money. The queen also presented a donation of one hundred and seventy pounds; and the young Prince of Wales, who was born in the precinct of the abbey, gave to it an annual sum of twenty marks, during the last eight years of his father's life, which was probably after his revenue was settled. The queen, also, added some buildings to the east part; and endowed, with the manors of Cradley and Hagley, in Worcestershire, a chapel dedicated to St. Erasmus, who is said to have been a bishop and martyr in the time of Dioclesian, *(c)* which east part was afterwards pulled down, as well as the chapel of St. Erasmus, to afford a site for that of Henry VII. The latter was also dedicated to the Virgin Mary; but the name of St. Erasmus was transferred to the next chapel but one, on the north side. It does not appear, however, that there were any more royal benefactions to the west part. Richard III. as it will be readily believed, did not add a single contribution. Henry VII. did, indeed, build the beautiful chapel which bears his name, but, during his life, he gave nothing to the other part of the structure. It is true, that he left, by his will, five hundred marks towards the finishing of it; but there is no reason to believe, that the legacy was ever brought to account. All records are silent, also, as to any donation of Henry VIII.: nevertheless, the work continued to advance; as the rents of certain estates and the annual contributions of the monks were applied to keep it in a progressive state. The last abbots took the direction of the whole upon themselves; and when one of them, John Estney, had exceeded the allowance about six hundred pounds, the next abbot, his executor or administrator, made a present of it to the monastery. The body of the building was completed about the year 1500, but the two towers, which were afterwards carried on, were not finished at the dissolution.

From this time nothing more was done, till Dean Williams laid out four thousand five hundred pounds of his own money in repairing the south-east, and particularly the north-west, part of the church, which was very much decayed. He would have done more had not his troubles prevented him. Nothing more seems to have been finished till the year 1697; when, on the motion of the Honourable Charles Montague, part of the duty on coals was given by parliament to the repairing of

(c) Baronius on the *Roman Martyrology*, and *Lives of the Saints.*

When Henry VIII. dissolved the abbey, the cloister was completed. The consistory, which is no common fabric, appears to have been erected in the reign of Edward I.* †; and in order to join it to the church, the eastern side of the cloister was, by a very injudicious contrivance, taken out of the western side of the cross of the church.

The abbot lent it to the king for the use of the House of Commons, on condition that the crown should repair it, which, though it is now used for records, has been lately done.—The Saracen way of building seen in the East, soon spread over Europe, and particularly in France, the fashions of which nation we imitated in all ages, even when we defied them. Nothing was magnificent that was not high beyond measure, with the flutter of arch-buttresses (so we call the sloping arches that poise the higher vaulting of the nave); whereas the Romans always concealed the butments, while the Normans thought them ornamental.

These, I have observed, are the first things that occasion the ruin of cathedrals, being so exposed to the air and weather, the coping, which cannot defend them, first failing; and if they give way, the vault must spread. Pinnacles are of no use and as little ornament: the pride of a very high roof, raised above a reasonable pitch, is not for duration; for the lead is apt to slip: but we are tied to this form, and must be content with original faults in the first design. But that which is most to be lamented, is the unhappy choice of the materials: the stone is decayed four inches deep, and falls perpetually off in scales.

this church. In consequence of this grant, and of other public monies given since the application of that fund to different uses, and by the care and attention of the deans of Westminster, the two towers at the west end were finished by Sir Christopher Wren, in a very beautiful and stately manner, and the repairs of the body of the church in a great measure completed.

* It appears by the accounts still remaining, that the cloister was finished in the year 1366 and the 39th of Edward III.

† This is called the chapter-house. Matthew of Westminster mentions it, in the year 1250, in the following manner:—"Edificavit dominus rex capitulum incomparabile."

I find that, after the conquest, all our artists were fetched from Normandy, and they loved to work their own Caen stone, which is more beautiful than durable. This was too expensive to bring hither; so they employed the Ryegate stone, in Surry, the nearest like their own, being a stone that would saw and work like wood; but it is not durable, as is manifest: and they used this for the ashler of the whole fabric, which is now disfigured in the highest degree. This stone takes in water, which, being frozen, scales off; whereas good stone gathers a crust and defends itself, as many of our English stones do. We have also the best oak timber in the world; yet these senseless artificers would work, as in Westminster Hall and other places, their own chesnuts from Normandy, for that timber is not natural to England: it works finely, but soon decays. The roof in the abbey is oak, but mixed with chesnut, and wrought after a bad Norman manner, that does not secure it from stretching and damaging the walls, while the water in the gutters is ill carried off.

All this is said the better to represent to your lordship what hath been done, and is wanting still to be carried on, as time and money are allowed to make a substantial and durable repair.

First, in the repair of the stone work, what is done shews itself, beginning from the east window. We have cut out all the ragged ashlers, and invested it with a better stone out of Oxfordshire, down the river, from the quarries about Burford. We have amended and secured the buttresses in the cloister garden, as to the greatest part, and we proceed to finish that side. The chapels on the south side we have completed; and, as being at hand, is easier done than the upper part of the work, most of the arch-buttresses all along as we have proceeded. We have not yet done much on the north side, for these reasons: the houses on the north side are so close, that there is no room left for raising of scaffolds and ladders, nor for passage for bringing materials: besides, the tenants

taking every inch to the walls of the church to be in their leases, this ground, already too narrow, is divided, as the backsides to the houses, with wash-houses, chimnies, and privies, the vaults of which, if indiscreetly dug against the foot of a buttress, may inevitably ruin the vaults of the chapels; and, indeed, I perceive such mischief is already done, by the opening of the vault of the Octagonal chapel on that side; and without means be taken to prevent all nuisances of this sort, the work cannot proceed; and if finished, may soon be destroyed. I need say no more, nor will I presume to dictate; not doubting but your lordship, in your great wisdom, will consider how this noble structure may be preserved from such nuisances as directly tend to the ruin of it*.

And now, in further pursuance of your lordship's directions, I must distinctly set down what remains to finish the necessary repairs for ages to come, that it may be no burthen to the successors of your venerable body: and in the second place, since the intentions of the founder were never brought to a conclusion, I shall present my thoughts and designs, in order to a proper completing of what is left imperfect, hoping you may find for this the assistance of the public.

I say nothing of King Henry VIIth's chapel, a nice embroidered work, and performed with tender Caen stone; and though lately built in comparison, is so eaten up by our weather, that it begs for some compassion, which I hope the sovereign power will take, since it is the sepulture of the royal family.

I begin, as I said, to set down what is necessary for completing the repairs; and I confess I can but guess, because I cannot yet come at the north side, to

* Much indeed appears to have been done to the abbey church under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren, and during the time when Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was the dean of it. But much still remained to do: and it seems to have been reserved for the present very reverend dean, Dr. Vincent, to employ his influence and taste in promoting, with the liberal aid of parliament, the improvements suggested by the great architect.

make a full discovery of the defects there: but I hope to find it rather better than the south side; for it is the vicissitude of heat and cold, drought and moisture, that rots all materials, more than the extremities, that are constant, of any of these accidents: this is manifest in timber, which, if always underground and wet, never decays, otherwise Venice and Amsterdam would fall. It is the same in lead work; for the north side of a steep roof is usually much less decayed than the south: and it is commonly seen in stone work the same. Besides, the buttresses here are more substantial than those of the south side, which I complained before to have been indiscreetly altered for the sake of the cloister; and I find some emendations have been made about eighty years since, but not well.

Upon the whole matter, I may say, that of the necessary repairs of the outward stone work, one third part is already completed. The most dangerous part of the vaulting over the choir, now in hand, will be finished in a few months, but the roof over it will not be opened till summer. The repair of the stone work, with all the chapels, arch-buttresses, windows, and mouldings of the north side, is yet to be done, excepting part of the north cross aisle. A great part of this expence will be in the north front, and the great rose window there, which, being very ruinous, was patched up for the present, to prevent ruin some years since, before I was concerned, but must be now new done. The timber of the roof, the nave, and the cross, is amended and secured with the lead, and also the chapels; but the whole roof and aisles from the tower westward, with lead and pipes to be new cast, remains yet, with all timber work, to be mended, as has been done eastward from the tower already. The chapels on the north side must have the roofs of them amended, when we come at them, which I see not how we can, except one small house be removed.

And now, having given a summary account of what will perfect the repairs, let me add what I wish to be done, to render those parts with a proper aspect,

which were left abruptly imperfect by the last builders, when the monastery was dissolved by King Henry VIII.

The west front is very requisite, because the two towers are not of equal height, and too low; for the bells are so much lower than the roof, that they are not heard southward, so well as they would be a mile off. The great west window is also too feeble, and the gable end of the roof over it is but weather-boards painted.

It was plainly intended originally to have had a steeple, the beginnings of which appear on the corners of the cross, but left off before it rose so high as the ridge of the roof; and the vault of the choir under is but lath and plaister, now rotten and must be taken care of.

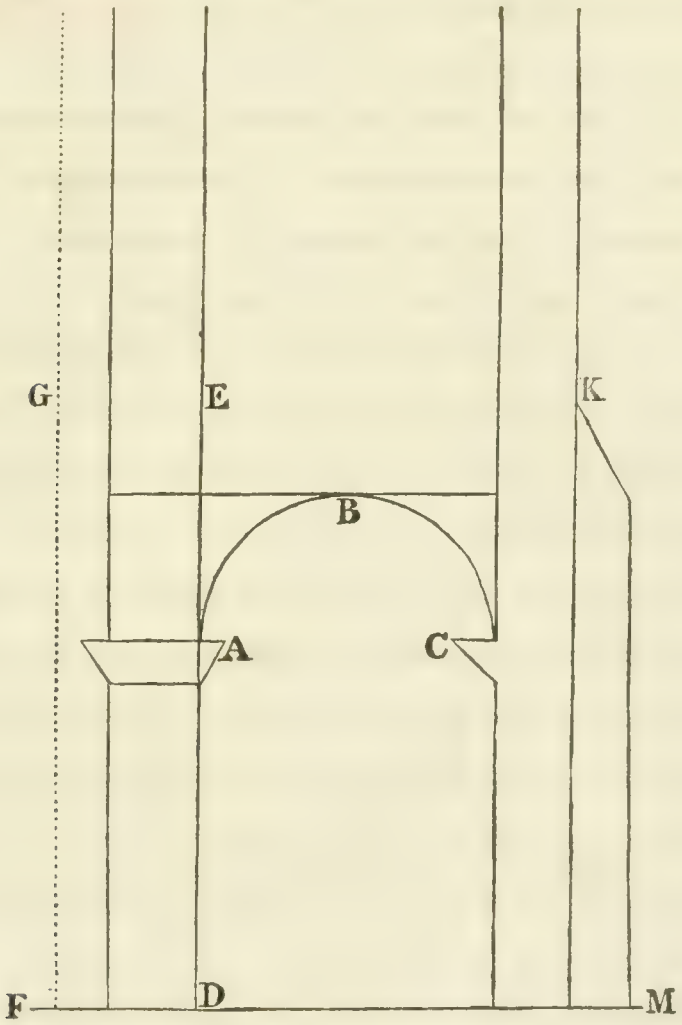
Lest it should be doubted whether the four pillars be able to bear a steeple, because they seem a little swayed inward, I have considered how they may be unquestionably secured, to bear the greatest weight that need be laid upon them; and this after a manner that will add to their shape and beauty.

It is manifest to the eye, that the four innermost pillars of the cross are bended inward considerably, and seem to tend to ruin in time; while the arches of the second order above are cracked also. How this hath happened, and how it is to be secured, I must demonstrate.

I conceive the architect knew very well, that the four pillars above the intersection of the cross nave, would not prove a sufficient butment to stand against the pressure of so many arches, unless they were much bigger than the other piers; but that could not be without cumbering up the principal part of the church: but though these angular pillars could not be made bigger, yet they could be made heavier, to stand against the pressure of the several rows of arches, which might prove an equivalent, as may appear thus:

Let ABC be an arch, resting at C against an immovable wall KM, but at A upon a pillar AD, so small as to be unable to be a sufficient butment to the

pressure of the arch AB—what is then to be done? I cannot add FG, to make it a butment, but I build up E so high, as by the addition of weight to establish it so firm, as if I had annexed FG to it, to make it a butment. It need not be enquired how much E must be, since it cannot exceed, provided AD be sufficient to bear the weight imposed on it: and this is the reason, why in all Gothic fabrics of this form, they were wont to build towers or steeples in the middle, not only for ornaments, but to confirm the middle pillars against the thrust of the several rows of arches, which force against them every way.



The architect understood this well enough, but knowing that it might require time to give such a butment as a tower to his arches, and which was to be last

done; and lest there should be a failing in the mean time, he wisely considered, that if he tied those arches every way with iron, which were next the middle of the cross, this might serve his turn, till he built the tower to make all secure, which is not done to this day.

These irons, which were hooked on from pillar to pillar, have been stolen away; and this is the reason of the four pillars being bent inward, and the walls above cracked.

But nothing can be amended till the pillars are restored, which I considered how to perform, and represented in a model*. This must be first done, otherwise the addition of weight upon that which is already crooked and infirm, will make it more so: but the pillars being once well secured from further distortion, it will be necessary to confirm all by adding more weight upon them, that is, by building a tower according to the original design of the architect; and which was begun, as appears by the work, but left off before it rose to the ridge of the roof.

In my opinion, the tower should be continued to, at least, as much in height above the roof as it is in breadth; and if a spire be added to it, it will give a proper grace to the whole fabric, and the west end of the city, which seems to want it.

I have made a design, which will not be very expensive, but light, and still in the Gothic form, and of a style with the rest of the structure, which I would strictly adhere to throughout the whole design; for to deviate from an approved form, is to run into a disagreeable mixture, which nobody of a good taste can relish. I have indeed varied a little in giving twelve sides to the spire instead of eight, for reasons to be discerned upon the model. The Goths usually enriched the angles of their pyramids with the flower which the botanists call *calceolus;* and

* This curious and beautiful model, with many others, is deposited in the abbey, in the chapel of Henry V.

is a proper form to help workmen to ascend on the outside to amend any defects, without raising large scaffolds upon every slight occasion. I have done the same, being of so very good use, as well as an agreeable ornament.

The next thing to be considered is to finish what was left undone at the west front. It is evident that the two towers there were left imperfect, the one much higher than the other, though still too low for bells, which are stifled by the height of the roof above them. They ought certainly to be carried to an equal height, one story above the ridge of the roof, still continuing the Gothic humour of the tracery stone work. Something must be done to strengthen the west window, which is crazy: the pediment is but boarded, which must certainly be stone. I have given such a design as I conceive may be suitable for this part. The Jerusalem chamber is built against it, and the access from Tothill-street not very graceful.

The principal entrance is from King-street, and I believe will always continue to be so: but what can be added to make the north front magnificent when it is encumbered on both sides with private tenements, which obscure and smoke the fabric, not without danger of firing it*? One thing is most necessary; the great north window was in danger of ruin, but was upheld and stopped up for the present with plaister: this ought to be rebuilt with Portland stone, to answer the south rose window, which was well rebuilt forty years since. The staircases at the corners must be new ashlered, and pyramids set on them according to the first design, to make the whole of a piece, for the same reasons.

* These inconveniencies and obstructions have been removed, not only by the improving spirit of the present dean and chapter, but by an act of parliament, made in the 46th year of his Majesty George III. entitled an act for consolidating and rendering more effectual the several acts for the purchase of buildings, and further improvement of the streets and places near to Westminster Hall and the two Houses of Parliament.

I have made some little alterations in the design, in order to restore it to its proper shape first intended; but which was indiscreetly tampered with some years since, by patching on a little Doric passage before the great window, and cropping off the pyramids, and covering the staircases with silly roofs of timber and lead, which can never agree with any other part of the design.

Of all these new additions I shall speedily prepare perfect draughts and models, such as I conceive proper to agree with the original scheme of the architect, without any modern mixtures to shew my own inventions; of which I have, amongst the parochial churches of the city of London, given already several examples, which appear not ungraceful, but ornamental to the prospect of the east part of this mighty city; and I hope, by the public care, the west part also, in time, will be as well adorned, and by nothing more properly than by a lofty spire on Westminster Abbey*.

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RICHARD DE CROKESLEY.

He was so called from a place of that name in Suffolk. On the death of Abbot de Berking, he is said to have been chosen unanimously by the monks to succeed him, as possessing abilities fully competent to the office, and being, at the same time, particularly recommended by the king. The latter reason it may be supposed was sufficient to secure his election; more especially at a period when Henry had declared himself so great a benefactor to their church, as to resolve on rebuilding it in a style of superlative beauty and magnificence†.

* Sir Christopher Wren survived the writing of this descriptive letter about ten years, as he died in 1723.

† Matt. Paris, p. 719.

At the time of de Crokesley's nomination, he was one of the two treasurers appointed to receive and dispose of the money appropriated by Henry for carrying on the works of the abbey: nor is it improbable that this office introduced him to the notice and favour of his majesty, and thereby led to his monastic advancement*.

He was elected on the Sunday before Christmas†, which happening to be the very day when Pope Innocent IV. canonized St. Edmund, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he had sincerely loved and venerated, he caused a chapel to be erected in honour of that prelate's virtues, by the north door of the church, which he named St. Edmund's chapel; and where he himself, by his particular desire, was afterwards interred. But as it was found to interrupt the design of the new building, it was pulled down, and his remains were removed to the chapel of St. Nicholas.

At the time of his election to the dignity of abbot, he enjoyed the office of archdeacon of Westminster‡, and is the first person who appears with that title in this monastery, it being an office subject to episcopal subordination, and consequently foreign to the regular religious establishments. It is not probable that this abbey had long possessed such an officer, at least not before the year 1222, when the precinct of the abbey§, and the whole parish of St. Margaret, at that time more extensive than at present, were declared exempt from the bishops of London, and formed a peculiar jurisdiction. This exemption rendered such an ecclesiastical officer essentially necessary for the separate district; and accordingly appears to be exercising an archdiaconal power in all its branches,

* Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, p. 549.

† Matt. Paris, p. 719.

‡ Ibid. p. 719.

§ Wharton, *de Episcopis Londinensibus*, p. 77.

through the whole intermediate period to the dissolution*. He is seen, in the due order of canonical regulation, to maintain his post when the monastery was converted into an episcopal see†. Nor does he immediately disappear on the establishment of the collegiate church by Queen Elizabeth.

The abbot, we are told, was at first so much in the king's favour, that his majesty made several very beneficial grants to the monastery; though it may be supposed, that the particular regard which he was then manifesting to it, was more than sufficient to turn the current of the royal bounty into that channel‡. One of these acts of favour, it is said, bore so hard upon the privileges of the city of London, that the citizens presented a very earnest remonstrance to the throne on the occasion, which being supported by some of his chief nobles, the king immediately recalled; and the abbot was gravely reproved for suggesting such an unjust and injurious regulation to the royal mind§.

In order to add to the dignity and official figure of the Abbot of Westminster, the king procured from the court of Rome, a licence for his saying mass, and performing all the functions of the altar arrayed in the habit, and accompanied with the ceremonials, of the episcopal character‖.

De Crokesley was engaged also by Henry in several missions to the continent**.

* *Archives of the Church.*

† Register Book, C.

‡ Matt. Paris, p. 783.

§ This was probably the new fair, which was at that time proclaimed, by the king's special command, to be held at Westminster, with an exclusive privilege annexed to it, by which no fair could be held in London, or any other part of England, during the fifteen days it was appointed to continue. It may, however, be reasonably presumed, that this temporary monopoly was granted in aid of the funds for proceeding in the reconstruction of the abbey.

‖ Matt. Paris, p. 716.

** Ibid. p. 730.

In the year 1247, he was sent to the Duke of Brabant to negociate a marriage between Prince Edward, the king's eldest son, and the daughter of that sovereign duke; which, however, did not take effect. In 1251, he went to the court of France to obtain permission for Henry to go to Pontigny, a town belonging to the French king, that he might have free access to pay his devotions at the tomb of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Edmund, who was buried there, by way of compensation for the trouble he had given that excellent prelate during his life, and those encroachments on his office and character, which drove him into voluntary exile, where he died*. A general suspicion, nevertheless, prevailed at the time, that this avowed errand of devotion covered some design of a political character. In 1256, he also accompanied the Bishop of Salisbury to Rome respecting the kingdom of Sicily, which the pope pretended to grant to Prince Edmund, the king's second son. This insidious proposal Henry was so weak as to accept, and added thereby to his own embarrassments and the oppressions of his people†.

Henry, who, from the natural levity of his disposition, was very capricious and inconstant both in his friendship and his enmities, had, some time previous to this last employment in his service, withdrawn his favour and confidence from the abbot, in consequence of his conduct to the monks of his cloister, and which will be seen to bear, in the following account of it, the marks of art and duplicity.

It has been already stated, that de Berking, his immediate predecessor‡, had made a composition with his monks, relating to the respective shares they should occupy in the estates and power of the monastery; which, having added very much to the advantage and comfort of their situations, produced a conco-

* Matt. Paris, p. 816.

† Ibid. p. 926.

‡ Ibid. p. 817.

mitant satisfaction in their minds, and greatly increased their regard and veneration for their reverend head and benefactor. This arrangement de Crokesley did not approve, and his attempts to set it aside involved him in a contest with his cloister; but the king thought proper to interest himself in the business, and commanded a reconciliation between the parties*.

The abbot's visit to the continent, in the year 1251, soon followed, when he took the opportunity of presenting himself to the pope, who was then at Lyons†; and as he possessed a very pleasing exterior, as well as the most insinuating manners, he so far gained upon his holiness, as to be appointed one of his chaplains, and to obtain a reversal of Abbot de Berking's composition; with a special order, that the whole management of Westminster Abbey should be subjected to his direction and controul. The monks, however, when they were informed of the application of their abbot to the holy see, with the unexpected success of it, sent a deputation of the most venerable persons of their monastery to offer an humble complaint to the king of the disrespect which was shewn to him, and the injury that had been done to them. This was stated in such strong and affecting terms, that his majesty, who, though he might love the abbot well, as he had proved, loved the monastery better, manifested his extreme anger on the occasion, and made them a solemn promise, which, says Matthew Paris, he confirmed with a great oath, that he should not attain his ends, or profit by his artful and delusive proceedings. The same writer describes the rage of the king to be so great, that, in a tone of uncommon violence, he uttered the well-known text of Scripture, in allusion to the favour he had shewn, and the dignities he had heaped upon him: *Penitet me fecisse hominem.*

* Matt. Paris, p. 769, 772.

† Ibid. p. 817.

The abbot made a long stay in France*, where he spent a large sum of money. It was indeed very generally believed that he would remain there; but at length he revisited England, and arrived with a retinue of armed men at the abbey, to overawe the monks into a compliance with his designs: but, on their refusal, he proceeded to Windsor, the court being at that time there, and, having said mass in his pontifical habit in the royal chapel, he presented himself to the king with the powers which he had received from the pope. But, however armed with papal favour, he was addressed in very sharp language by his majesty, who declared that he had been very ill advised to admit him of his privy council; and that, having evinced such a disposition to wrong his brethren and old companions, no reliance could be placed on his fidelity, and he should immediately be struck out of the list of privy counsellors; which was accordingly done.

The abbot, nevertheless, did not discover any intention to yield the power with which the pope had favoured him†: but the king was resolute in his purpose, and accordingly made a grant to the prior and the monks, in which he declared the goods of the convent to be distinct from those of the abbot; and gave orders, that, upon a vacancy, his officers should enter only on what belonged to the abbot, and pass by whatever was attached generally to the convent. To prevent also his returning to the continent, and obtaining from the pope a further confirmation, Henry seems to have taken the most effectual method in his power; as he ordered a mandate to be issued and proclamation to be made in London, that no one should give him credit or lend him any money‡.

The uneasy and divided state of the monastery was at length referred to

* Matt. Paris, p. 819.

† Ibid. p. 841.

‡ Ibid. p. 842.

the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and John Mansell, provost of Beverley, a person of great power at that time: a new composition was accordingly made, when the articles chiefly objected to by the abbot were, by the direction of those churchmen, altered or qualified in his favour. They were, the obligation to find flesh for the monks' dinners from Twelfth-day to Septuagesima Sunday*; and the being restrained from visiting the estates assigned to the convent's share, or removing the monks from any particular offices or charges which they enjoyed. The instrument which settled this business was sealed, to give it the greater effect, not only with the seals of the abbot and the monks, but also with those of the two arbitrators; and it was finally sanctioned by the great seal of the king.

It might now be supposed that this long and vexatious dispute was finally settled; but the subsequent conduct of de Crokesley wore such a doubtful and suspicious appearance, that the king continued to entertain a distrust of his future intentions. When, therefore, he sent him on a mission to Rome, in the year 1256, he thought it advisable to insist on his taking an oath, and signing an instrument, previous to his setting out on that journey, that he would not make the least attempt to do any thing at that court tending to prejudice the composition which had been finally agreed upon between him and his monks†.

It does not appear that the abbot made any attempt to evade this obligation: at the same time, he contrived to obtain from the pope, Innocent IV. the appropriation of the rectory of Feryng, in Essex‡, to defray the expences of an anniversary for Henry III. the munificent refounder of the abbey. He also established one of a very sumptuous kind for himself, at the extravagant cost

* Instrument in the Archives.—Matt. Paris, somewhat differently, p. 841.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom I. p. 598.

‡ Flete.

of fifty pounds*; but, as the estate assigned for that purpose was not sufficient to sustain the charge, the pope, about nine years after his death, ordered it to be reduced to ten marks†.

He is also said to have added twelve hydes‡ of land, or so many hundred acres, to the possessions of the abbey. But this was no more than buying in some leases of estates held of the monastery.

This abbot is censured by Matthew Paris for an act of compliance with what he considers as an unjustifiable request of the king, and of which he gives the following account. Henry had received large sums of money from his subjects on several considerations, and particularly on a promise to renew *Magna Charta;* but he was altogether inattentive to the fulfilling the tenor of these engagements, which created so much dissatisfaction in his parliament, that he could not procure from that source the supplies necessary to discharge the debts he had incurred on account of the kingdom of Sicily, which the pope had taken upon himself to grant to Prince Edmund, his second son. The king, therefore, endeavoured to raise money, in the belief, that he should be able to persuade the great religious houses to become security for it: and de Crokesley was so inconsiderate, or so much of the courtier, as to enter into an obligation for two thousand marks. But the other great abbots, particularly those of Waltham, St. Alban's, and Reading, resisting the application, the scheme failed of success. Matthew Paris was a monk of St. Alban's, and that circumstance may account for the severity with which he treats the Abbot of Westminster's indiscreet compliance with the royal wishes.

In the same year, which was the last of de Crokesley's life, he was made a

* Instrument in the Archives.

† Archives.

‡ Matt. Paris, p. 965.

baron of the Exchequer*; as also one of the twelve nominees on the side of the king, who, with an equal number appointed by the parliament held at Oxford, which, from the confusions that attended its measures, was afterwards called the Mad Parliament, were named to settle regulations for the reformation of the kingdom.

During the time of this abbot the building of the abbey proceeded without interruption. There is still remaining a computation of twenty-nine thousand six hundred pounds being laid out in fifteen years, during twelve of which he was at the head of this church†. Such a sum, if the value of money at that period is considered, being five or six times more than at present, is equal to an hundred and fifty or an hundred and eighty thousand pounds of our day.

He died July 18, 1258, at Winchester‡; and his death is supposed to have been caused by poison. The Poicterins, whom the king had distinguished with such partial favour and lavish bounty, being compelled, by the clamours of the nation and the Oxford parliament, to quit the kingdom, are said to have gratified their revenge by poisoning several persons, whom they considered as their particular enemies, at an entertainment at Winchester. It is certain that many of them fell sick after it, and several died, among whom was de Crokesley. One Walter de Scotteney, who was steward to the Earl of Gloucester, was tried for the crime, and being convicted, suffered the sentence of the law§.

The remains of the abbot were removed from Winchester, and, according to Matthew Paris, very honourably buried in the abbey church of Westminster. Flete says, that the place of his interment was in the chapel which he had himself

* Dugdale, *Chronic. Juridicale, Annales Burton*, p. 412.

† Appendix, No. IV.

‡ *Chron. Dunstaple*, p. 337.

§ Matt. Westminster, p. 280.

erected, near the north door; but the chapel being pulled down, his body was removed to that of St. Nicholas, and laid under a small plain stone before the middle altar. His epitaph consisted of the two following lines:—

Jam Wintona polis de Crokesleye Ricardo
Mortis amara dedit, et locus iste capit.

He is represented by Matthew Paris, who was his contemporary, and seems to have known him well, as a man of winning manners and attractive qualifications. On the same authority, he possessed an insinuating eloquence, a rare skill in the civil and canon laws, and was remarkable for his ability in all matters of public business. He seems, however, to have been troubled with a love of power, which did not promote the happiness of his life.

PHILIP LEWESHAM.

On the 21st of July, 1258, being four days after the death of de Crokesley, the king granted the custody of the Abbey of Westminster to Adam de Easton*; and two days after, being the 23d of the same month, he issued his royal licence to the monks to proceed to the election of an abbot, when they chose Philip de Lewesham, whose name was derived from a small village near Greenwich, in the county of Kent, where he was born, and which now gives the subordinate title of viscount to the earldom of Dartmouth.

Lewesham was at this time prior of the monastery, but being of a very corpulent figure and gross habit†, he was apprehensive of the fatigue and danger attendant on the necessary journey to Rome for confirmation, and expressed an anxious wish to remain in the situation he then enjoyed in preference to

* Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

† Matt. Paris, p. 972.

the honour and dignity which awaited him: nor could he be prevailed upon to accept the government of the abbey, but on condition that the monks should send a deputation to Rome, in order to obtain a dispensation of the usual visit of a new-elected abbot to the papal court.

To obtain this object some of the most distinguished monks made a journey to Italy, and the mission was crowned with success, though not without considerable opposition from some of the cardinals, and a very heavy expence; which is said to have amounted to upwards of eight hundred marks*.

The necessity of making such an application to the pope, with the concurrent expence and hazard of the journey, arose from the exemption which the monastery had obtained from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and, on that account, becoming immediately subject to the pope. By the twenty-sixth canon of the fourth Lateran council, the exempt abbots of Italy were to be confirmed by the pope himself; and, in the year 1257, which was the year before this election, that power was extended to the exempt abbots of other countries by a constitution of Pope Alexander IV.

This regulation proved a very great inconvenience, and was attended with much trouble and considerable expence to those who had subjected themselves to it. The grievance, however, originated in the pride of the principal monasteries, who considered it as adding greatly to their importance to be freed from episcopal jurisdiction; while the popes were ever ready to encourage any attempts to effect an object which served to enlarge their power, and consequently to lessen that

* Flete says, that Lewesham went himself to Rome. "Transfretavit post modum ad Curiam Romanam, pro confirmatione sua obtinenda: ibidem diem clausit extremum." The fact rests upon the varying accounts of this writer and M. Paris; but the superior authority of the latter seems to have decided in favour of Lewesham's remaining and dying in England.

of the bishops, which frequently interfered with their own, and to the abridgment whereof they never failed to give a most vigilant attention.

It was not long before the monks experienced this change in their masters to be a source of oppression, and it consequently became the subject of frequent complaint; but it was not till the year 1478, in the reign of Edward IV. and after very persevering struggles, that the abbots were extricated from it*: for though the king frequently wrote in a most pressing manner to the pope and some of the cardinals for a remission of this irksome and costly duty, it could not be obtained without an obligation to pay the annual sum of a hundred florins to the pope's collector on that account.

When the monks returned from Rome with the pope's indulgence, they had the mortification to find that their long journey and heavy expences had been fruitless; as Lewesham had died in the interval, and a successor had been already elected†. The place of this abbot's burial is unknown.

RICHARD DE WARE.

The abbey, according to Flete, had continued vacant for two years from the 17th of July, 1258, which was the time of de Crokesley's death; the possession of it by Lewesham being considered as merely titular, he never having received the papal confirmation. This appears by the presentation of Hubertus de Boreham, by the king, to the church of Stevenage, belonging to Westminster, in August, 1259, the abbey being then considered as vacant; and, in the succeeding February, the king presented to the church of Morden, which was also in the patronage of the monastery, for the same reason.

* *Archives of the Church.*

† Matt. Paris, p. 980.

Richard de Ware was elected in the beginning of December, 1258, by what was then called compromission, which implies a choice committed to a few by the general agreement of the whole chapter*. This appears to have been a mode of election much in use at that time, and the two succeeding abbots were indebted to it for their elevation.

In due time de Ware paid the accustomed visit to Rome for the purpose of obtaining confirmation, when the attendant expences were so large, that he was under the necessity of borrowing a thousand marks; which he did, it seems, on very hard conditions†.

He returned to Rome in the year 1267; when, and not before, according to Widmore, he brought many curious stones, with workmen to inlay them. They were formed into a mosaic pavement before the high altar in the following year; and it was then, as well as long after, an object of general admiration‡. Some part of it still remains. The design of the figures which adorned it was intended to represent the time the world was to last, or the primum mobile, according to the Ptolemaic system, and described in the following verses, which were formerly legible, in the pavement itself§:—

Si lector posita prudenter cuncta revolvat,
Hic finem primi mobilis inveniet.

Sepes, trina canes et equos, hominesque subaddas,
Cervos et corvos, aquilas, immania cete,
Mundum; quodque sequens pereuntes triplicat annos.
Sphæricus archetypum monstrat globus hic microcosmum

* Flete.

† *Archives of the Church.*

‡ *History of the Church of Westminster*, p. 72.

§ *Biblioth. Cotton*, Claudius, A. 8.

Christi milleno, bis centeno, duodeno
Cum sexageno, subductis quatuor, anno,
Tertius Henricus Rex, urbs, Odoricus et abbas
Hos compegere porphyreos lapides.

Of these figures the following very curious explanation appears to have been given; and which is, in some degree, necessary for the comprehension of them.

The threefold hedge is put for three years, the time a dry hedge generally stood. A dog for three times that space, or nine years, it being for the time that creature usually lives. A horse, in like manner, for twenty-seven. A man, eighty-one. A hart, two hundred and forty-three. A raven, seven hundred and twenty-nine. An eagle, two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven. A great whale, six thousand five hundred and sixty-one. The world, nineteen thousand six hundred and eighty-three. Each succeeding figure giving a term of years imagined to be the time of its continuance, being three times as much as that before it.

The four last lines express the time which the work occupied, with the parties concerned in it. The poet seems to have had some difficulty in making his numbers give a clear account of his dates; but his compact muse more intelligibly explains, that the king paid the expence of the work, that the stones were purchased at Rome, that one Odoric was the master workman, and that the abbot of Westminster, who procured the materials, had the care of the work.

Abbot de Ware appears to have been very attentive to the domestic affairs of the monastery; and for this purpose employed William Halseley, the sub-prior, to make a collection of the ancient customs and usages of the establishment: which laborious work he completed, in four volumes folio, in the year 1266*.

* Flete.

The three first, according to Dart, are now lost; but he mentions the fourth, and most valuable part, as a fair manuscript on vellum in folio, and as being in the Cotton Library at the time when he was composing his *History of Westminster*. He represents it as a treatise on the duties of the abbots and other monastic offices; and that it appeared to have been preserved with greater care than the rest, on account of the superior estimation of its contents*. He also describes it as having the following note prefixed to it:—" Pars quarta et a tribus aliis partibus " idcirco separatur, et per se, igitur, in conclavi ponitur, quia secretiora nostri " ordinis in ipsa continentur."

At the end of the volume were inscribed the following verses:—

Hoc opus accepit in Cælis qui dominatur,
Et nomen præstat auctori quod mereatur
Secum regnare, post finem mortis amare.
Vel sic:
Inter sanctorum turbas regnare suorum,
Finito Libro sit Laus et Gloria Deo†.

De Ware was employed on several foreign missions. By Henry III. in the year 1271, to the King of France, respecting the county of Agen‡; and by Edward I. in 1276, to the pope, with powers to lay the king under an obligation to go himself to the Holy Land§, or to send his brother in his stead, in the next proper season for a passage thither‖. In 1278, he was sent to John, Duke of

* Widmore states, that this valuable volume was unfortunately consumed by the fire in the Cotton Library in October, 1731.

† Dart's *Westmonasterium*, vol. II. p. 76.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom I. p. 873.

§ Ibid. tom II. p. 72.

‖ Ibid. tom II. p. 103.

Brabant, to treat of a marriage between Margaret the king's daughter, and the son and heir of that duke; and, in 1279, he was commissioned again about the same interesting business*.

He obtained from King Henry the renewal of several charters†, which the Londoners, taking advantage of the king's wars with the barons, and his being made a prisoner after the battle of Lewes, in the year 1264, when he was in the power of Montfort, Earl of Leicester, had compelled the monastery to give up to them. He also procured from King Edward the confirmation of those charters which had been granted by his father Henry‡.

In the year 1267§, the king, being very much distressed in his finances, applied for a loan of money to the abbey, which had been under such great obligations to him, that the request could not be refused. The monks, accordingly, assigned to his use, jewels, precious stones, and several golden or gilded images that decorated the hearse of the Confessor. These he immediately pledged, but afterwards redeemed and restored them to the house.

About the same time‖, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, seizing the opportunity which was offered him by the king's absence, on an expedition against the Isle of Ely, took possession of the city of London, when a band of rapacious people from thence broke into the Monastery of Westminster, and carried away whatever had been deposited there for security; but did no personal injury to any of the monks, nor took away any thing that belonged to the house.

In the year 1269, the body of the Confessor was removed, with great solemnity

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. II. p. 131.

† Anno Hen. III. 50.

‡ Anno 9.

§ Matt. Westminster, p. 346.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. I. p. 841.

‖ Matt. Westminster, p. 346.

and funeral pomp, to the tomb or shrine which had been erected by the king's order and at the royal cost*, where it has ever since remained. He had ordered one to be formed in 1241; but whether it was not sufficiently sumptuous to satisfy Henry's pious zeal for the honour of his sainted predecessor, or that it was not suitably situated, or whatever other reason might cause it to be neglected, its construction is known only in the following verses :—

Anno milleno Domini cum sexageno
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,
Hoc opus est factum, quod Petrus duxit in actum,
Romanus civis : homo, causam noscere si vis,
Rex fuit Henricus Sancti presentis amicus.

The following inscription is supposed to have been written by Abbot Feckham :—

Omnibus insignis laudum virtutibus heros
Sanctus Edwardus Confessor, rex venerandus,
Quinto die Jani moriens super æthera scandit.
Sursum corda.
Moritur anno Domini 1065.

King Henry III. died November 16, 1272, and was buried on the 20th day of the same month, with as much solemnity as so short a space would allow. This prince, however deficient he might be in governing the state and nation, was a constant friend and munificent benefactor to the Abbey of Westminster. He rebuilt it, at his sole expence, with all the splendour and munificence of that age, and in the manner we now see it. His partial bounty was continually extended to the favoured place: he added to the number and extent of its privileges;

* *Chron.* Thomas Wykes.

and, besides the great charter, as it is called, and some others mentioned in the life of Abbot de Berkyng, he granted it two fairs yearly, to be held in the sanctuary, of sixteen days each; one to begin on January 5, which was the day of the Confessor's death; the other on the 13th of October, the day of the translation of his body; as also a market on Mondays at Touthull or Tuthill, with another fair on the eve and the morrow of the festival of St. Mary Magdalen. Other grants might be mentioned, as of amerciaments, and the right of imprisoning persons arrested within its liberties. When, however, the Londoners, availing themselves of the king's being made prisoner after the battle of Lewes, had compelled the monastery to renounce its privileges in Middlesex, he made it new grants, as well as others in the years 1269 and 1270, when he used a new seal, in which the title of Duke of Normandy was omitted. He also bestowed several relics, then held in profound veneration, costly images, and furniture of various sorts. He named his eldest son Edward, after the Confessor, who was the great restorer and canonized saint of the abbey; the festival of whose translation he ever caused to be celebrated with all possible solemnity and splendour.

In October, 1273, the archbishop arriving hither to perform the burial service for Prince Henry, son of Edward I.* the abbot permitted him to officiate at the royal obsequies; but it was at the especial request of Prince Edmund, the king's brother, and on receiving the solemn protestation of the archbishop, that the indulgence should not prejudice the privileges of the abbey, or be drawn, at any time, into an example. It was on this occasion that historians have recorded the votive, but not very memorable expression of King Edward:—"That God would be pleased to send him more sons, but spare him another father." He certainly did not lament the death of the one; while he mourned with unfeigned sorrow the loss of the other.

* Cotton Library, Faustina III.

In 1274, this abbot attended the second council at Lyons, held there by Pope Gregory X.*

In 1281, Archbishop Peckham having summoned a provincial council to be held at Lambeth†, the exempted abbeys refused to obey the summons; and not only the Abbot of Westminster, but those of St. Alban's, St. Edmondsbury, and Waltham, in behalf of the rest, appealed from it to the pope, as an infringement of their exemption; but the archbishop maintained his authority on the occasion, and they were finally obliged to submit.

At the close of his abbacy‡, de Ware was engaged in an active contest with the Bishop of Worcester, concerning the priory of Great Malvern in Worcestershire, which had been a cell to Westminster from its first foundation. The prior of that religious house being, at this time, a dissolute and vicious person, the bishop deprived him of his office, and directed the monks there to proceed to a new election: but the person chosen under the episcopal ordinance, applying to the abbot for confirmation, the latter was so displeased that such a measure should be taken without his concurrence, that he committed the new-elected prior to prison. The bishop, indignant at this procedure, displayed his resentment, by issuing his excommunications without reserve, not only against the abbot, but all persons who had any concern in it. He likewise applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as the court of Rome, to support his ecclesiastical dignity. But the abbot maintained his right with that firmness which distinguished his character, till, at length, the difference between these adverse churchmen was composed by the friendly interposition of the king; when the right of the abbey over its cell was established, and the new election vacated. It

* Prynn's *History of Papal Usurpations*, vol. III. p. 143.

† Parker's *Antiquities*.

‡ *Antiquities of Great Malvern.*

was thought necessary, however, to give some satisfaction to the bishop; and he was contented that the priory should transfer a small portion of land to his see.

Within the last three years of his life, de Ware was appointed treasurer to the king, and died in the possession of that office*. His death, which was sudden, took place in the beginning of December, 1283†; and it is said that he was not lamented by his cloister, on account of the austerity which he exercised in it‡. At the same time he must be ranked among its benefactors, as he relieved it from a debt of six hundred marks; and procured for it the entire jurisdiction of the hospital of St. James. He was buried on the north side of the high altar, beneath his fine Mosaic pavement. His epitaph, which was afterwards removed, would have disgraced the meanest gravestone.

Abbas Richardus de Wara, qui requiescit
Hic, portat lapides, quos huc portavit ab urbe.

The manor of Kildun was assigned to support the ceremonial of his anniversary.

WALTER DE WENLOCK.

On the death of Richard de Ware, the king, having by his grant, dated December 8, 1283, and in the twelfth year of his reign, committed the custody of the barony of Westminster to Malcolm de Harlow, issued a licence for the monks to proceed to a new election; who, accordingly, on the vigil of the Circumcision, elected Walter de Wenlock§; which choice the king confirmed in January, and restored the temporalities on the 10th of June following. This abbot was a monk

* Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales.*

† Madox's *History of the Exchequer*, p. 571.

‡ *Chron. de Dunstaple*, p. 494.

§ Flete.

of the house, and elected, in the same manner as his predecessor, by compromission.—In the month of February immediately following his election, he proceeded to Rome for confirmation, with a retinue of thirty persons*.

He was not, as erroneously stated by Flete, treasurer to the king, but to the queen, and received the assistance of some of the monks in the execution of that office†.

He recovered, but by purchase, the manors of Durhust and Hardwick, in Gloucestershire‡, which had been granted in fee farm by the Abbot Gervase de Blois; and, also, reobtained the offices of serjeant of the vestry and the butlery, which had been granted out in the same manner and at the same time.

On the 28th of November, 1290, died Queen Eleanor, the consort of Edward I. and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Her tomb, which is inlaid, with her effigy on it, remains in good preservation. The king, who loved her well, as she well deserved, gave to the monastery several manors§, to the yearly value of two hundred pounds, for religious services, and an anniversary to be celebrated in honour of her.

About the same time there was a controversy between this monastery and the friars minors‖, on account of one William Pershore, who, having first been a monk at Pershore, in Worcestershire, afterwards entered a community of friars; but, leaving the latter, was, contrary to the privileges granted to their order, entertained as a monk of Westminster. The friars, at this time, had great friends: Peckham, then Archbishop of Canterbury, had been one of them, and

* Prynn's *History of King John*, p. 346.

† *Archives of the Church*, 14 Edw. I.

‡ Flete.

§ *Archives of the Church.*

‖ Ibid.

now stood forth the protector of their rights. To him the friars applied on the present occasion, when he excommunicated the abbot and monks. The latter, in their turn, appealed to Pope Nicholas IV. who, having himself also been a friar, took the part of his original order; so that they were obliged to acknowledge the right of the friars to reclaim a fugitive: the abbot was likewise compelled to submit himself to the archbishop and pray absolution, while the monastery was obliged to deliver up Pershore, if he were in their power. The abbot and his monks, who were suspected of conniving at the escape of Pershore, were called upon to purge themselves of the charge by oath; and such as refused to comply with the injunction, were to be sent to the pope. The monastery was condemned to pay two hundred marks; one half for costs of suit, and the other, if so much were requisite, for finding out and delivering up the deserter. The costs were afterwards compromised for sixty marks, which were paid towards the support of two poor-houses of the friars at Winchelsea and Litchfield.

The friars were, about the same time, very troublesome to the monks of Worcester*. The Benedictines were very much dissatisfied with the erection of new orders, as with that of the Gilbertines in the year 1117; but they had much greater cause to be dissatisfied with the mendicant orders, who were considered by the people at large as being more useful and beneficial to them than the monks. They were also in great favour at the court of Rome, whose interests and objects were better served by them, than by the monastic establishments†.

On the 13th of December, 1291, the abbot went on a solemn mission to deliver the heart of Henry III.‡ to the Abbess of Font-Everard, in Normandy, to whom that prince had promised it; and where his grandfather Henry II. and

* Matt. Westminster, p. 382.

† *History of the Reformation*, anno 1535.

‡ *Archives of the Church.*

his uncle Richard I. were buried. But he had by deed, as long before as the year 1245, when he began to rebuild the abbey, appointed its church to be the place where his body should be interred.

In the year 1296, Edward I. brought from Scotland the regalia of that kingdom, and the stone fabulously reported to have been Jacob's pillow, which he caused to be deposited in this church; where it still occupies a place beneath the coronation chair of the sovereign.

A fire broke out in the king's palace in the year 1297, which communicating to some of the buildings belonging to the abbey, did them considerable injury. To assist the monastery in supporting the expences incident to the necessary reparations, a licence was procured from the pope for the appropriation of the two churches of Kelveden and Sawbridgeworth, which were in its patronage*.

In the year 1298, the abbot and monks gave their bond for two hundred and fifty pounds towards the ransom of a noble person, John de St. John, the king's governor or general in Aquitain; who, in attempting to relieve a castle besieged by the French, had been taken prisoner; and such an exorbitant sum was demanded for his liberty, that he was himself incapable of raising it. For the monastery to subject itself to a pecuniary obligation for such a purpose, is described in the instrument, as a lawful, praiseworthy, and charitable, as well as public-spirited act: nor does it, indeed, appear, that the great monasteries were in the habit of expending their wealth, from such a laudable motive as that of purchasing the liberty of a person in high command and a gallant soldier, who had lost it in the

* The appropriation of a benefice gave to a spiritual corporation, which was the patron of it, the power of providing for its service, and, thereby, of receiving the beneficial fruits of it, as its actual incumbent. This was a contrivance which seems to have sprung from the policy of the monastic orders, who, indeed, never appear to have been deficient in subtle inventions, for the increase of their power and emoluments.

valiant discharge of his military duties. It was in consequence of the king's urgent recommendation, addressed to ten of the most opulent monasteries, that Westminster Abbey engaged to contribute towards the ransom of this distinguished nobleman. Its example was followed by those of Glastenbury, Peterborough, Evesham, and St. Edmondsbury; but those of Ramsey, Abingdon, Waltham, St. Alban's, and Hyde, refused to adopt it. The conduct of the latter excited the royal displeasure; and the king issued an order that the monastic contributors should have all possible favour afforded them in the Court of Exchequer, while rigid justice alone should be exercised to the others.

In the year 1303, the king's treasury, which at that time occupied a place in the abbey, was robbed of one hundred thousand pounds, which had been appropriated to the service of the Scotch war; whereupon the abbot and forty-eight of the monks were sent to the Tower, and some of them kept there for two years, with their limbs fettered for a considerable part of the time. The depositions against them were such as to justify a suspicion, at least, that they had some concern in the robbery; but the opinion is rather to be indulged, that so flagrant an act of ingratitude to such a bounteous benefactor was not committed; and that the rigour with which they were treated, arose from the unreflecting distress and disappointment which the king suffered at the loss of such a sum at such a moment. The monks protested their innocence and implored a trial; but it does not appear that they were ever tried; and the king, at length, released them from their confinement. This surely may be a reasonable ground to suppose that the charge could not be established; for Edward was no bigot, and would, probably, have brought them to trial, if sufficient cause had appeared to justify such a proceeding*. Indeed, all the historians who mention the circumstance, acquit these

* Comp. *Thesaurarii*, anno 33 Edw. I.

monks of the crime; and some of them consider the whole of it as a political pretext for employing irregular means in order to carry on the Scotch war*.

In September, 1305, when King Edward proposed that a pacification should take place with Scotland, which had lately been rendered subject to his arms, he appointed two English earls, with as many bishops and abbots, as well as several lay barons, to meet the Scottish commissioners at the New Temple, in order to settle the form of it. De Wenlock was named, as one of the English abbots, to assist in this interesting transaction.

In 1307, which was the last year of this abbot's life, a contention arose in the house on the following occasion. It has been already related that a composition had taken place between the abbot and monks in the time of Abbot Berkyng†; and, after much domestic dispute, which was renewed by his successor De Crokesley, it had been confirmed by the pope as well as by the king. De Wenlock, however, having neglected to observe some of the conditions which he was bound to fulfil, the prior had frequently remonstrated to him on his neglect; and finding himself altogether disregarded on the subject, he at length thought it his duty to appeal to the pope. The abbot felt, in a high degree, this indignity from an inferior officer in his monastery; and not only deprived the prior of his situation, but excommunicated him, as well as a monk who had adhered to him in forwarding the appeal: and, being determined to maintain his point against them, he gave two hundred pounds to Pierce Gaveston, the powerful and obnoxious favourite of the king, to secure the sovereign's interest in his favour. At the same time, to pre-

* In the year 1303, the Exchequer was robbed of no less a sum than one hundred thousand pounds, as is pretended. The abbot and monks of Westminster were indicted for this robbery, but acquitted. It does not appear that the king ever discovered the criminals with certainty; though his indignation fell on the society of Lombard merchants, particularly the Frescobaldi, very opulent Florentines.—Hume's *Hist.*

† *Archives of the Church.*

serve the tranquillity of his cloister, he entered into a covenant with the monks to observe the composition as a favour from him, but not as a right to be claimed by them. This condescension, however, as the abbot wished to have it considered, did not calm the discontents which prevailed in the monastic confraternity. The pope, nevertheless, restored the prior and absolved the monk; but before peace was restored in the monastery the abbot died*.

At the time of his death he was one of the presidents of the Benedictines, who, by a canon of the second Lateran council, were directed to hold triennial chapters, to form constitutions for the general regulation of the order, to appoint visitors, censure defaulters, and raise money. The most distinguished characters, being heads of monasteries, were chosen to preside at these chapters, which were usually held at Northampton; it being in a central part of the kingdom.

This abbot died on Christmas-day, in the year 1307, at his manor of Purford, in Surry, and was buried in his abbey church, on the south side of the Mosaic pavement of the high altar, near the door of St. Edward's chapel. Flete gives no account of his tomb; but a gravestone was visible in the time of Weever, which was plated with brass, and the following lines distinguished it :—

Abbas Walterus jacet hic sub marmore tectus.
Non fuit austerus, sed mitis, famine rectus.

RICHARD DE KEDYNGTON, OR DE SUDBURY.

The next abbot was Richard, called de Kedyngton or de Sudbury†; but neither of these was his proper surname. It was not unusual, as it has been

* This covenant is in Flete, whereby the abbot agreed to give up the manor of Durhurst to the convent, on the demise of the receiver; but the monks never obtained possession in his time, or from any of his successors.

† Flete.

already observed, to call the monks after the names of the places from whence they came. Kedyngton is a village near Sudbury, in Suffolk, where, it is probable, he was born; and, consequently, he derived his name from it. The additional title of Sudbury, it may be presumed, he received from his having been a monk in the priory of St. Bartholomew in that town, which was a cell to Westminster, and from thence called to the parent abbey. It may, indeed, be observed, by their names, that most of the monks came from parishes where either the monastery or its cells possessed estates.

He was chosen, as his two immediate predecessors had been, by compromission, January 26, 1307-8, being himself one of the seven to whom the election was committed; but, on his applying to the king for confirmation, he was twice refused on account of the immorality of his character, and the insufficiency of his abilities for performing the functions of his office*. The monks who managed his election, are represented as equally vicious with himself; and having, by their adherence to the late Abbot de Wenlock, obtained his favour, and contrived to possess themselves of his property when he died, were enabled to purchase the support of Pierce Gaveston, by the present of an hundred pounds; who not only influenced the king to approve their choice, which he had already rejected, but to write a letter in favour of it to the pope, as several of the monastic brethren had taken measures to oppose it at the papal court. There the matter was long kept in suspense, till, at length, De Sudbury, on his engaging to pay eight thousand florins, received the pope's confirmation. Our historians complain, with great justice, of the exactions of the Italian popes; but the papal court of Avignon proved no less extortionate than that of Rome.

No small difficulty occurred in raising this money; but it was, nevertheless, rigorously exacted. The abbot had paid two thousand florins previous to his

* *Archives of the Church.*

death, which took place in the year 1315. His successor, in the hope of evading the remaining payment, pleaded that Pope Clement V.* to whom the engagement was made, had ordered, that all monies due to him at his death, which happened in 1314, should be remitted. But this plea, though it had the powerful support of the king, was effectually resisted. At length, however, about the year 1320, when five thousand five hundred florins had been paid, Pope John XXII. was pleased to forego the remaining part of the original sum.

While the business of the confirmation was depending, some irregular transactions, as might be expected, took place in the monastery: the king accordingly issued out a commission to five persons†, all or most of them judges, to visit the abbey, to investigate the causes of the prevailing discontents, and to punish the persons with whom they originated.

De Sudbury is said to have followed the steps and consulted the honour of his predecessor De Wenlock in the whole of his conduct; which indeed might naturally be expected of him, as his election was carried by the friends and favourites of that person.

The character of this abbot, and the great debt which he had contracted for his confirmation, as well as the disposition of the then reigning prince, Edward II. combine to check any expectation that this monastery would receive any peculiar advantage from his administration of it. Flete remarks, that he did not leave any fund for an anniversary service to commemorate him, and that he was almost the only abbot who did not make a provision of this kind; but as he owed more than he was able to pay, it may be presumed that it was owing rather to his poverty than his humility, that he appears so inattentive to posthumous honours.

He died April 9, 1315, having been abbot upwards of seven years, and was

* Rymer's *Fæd.* tom. III. p. 679.

† *Archives of the Church.*

buried before the high altar under the lower pavement. He was the first of his dignity whose epitaph was written in prose.—Hic jacet Ricardus de Sudbury, quondam Abbas hujus loci: cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.

Pater Noster—Ave Maria*.

* In the time of this abbot John Bevere is supposed to have died. He is also called Castor and Fiber; but in the list of the monks, John de London, as having been born in that city. He appears to have been living in 1310, but not afterwards, and was then in a very infirm state. He wrote a history from the time of Æneas to the latter end of the reign of Edward I.; but it was never printed. Mr. Hearne was preparing it for the press at the time of his death. Many expressions in it are to be found in Matthew of Westminster; but which was the original writer cannot be determined till the time of the latter be ascertained. If that could be done with accuracy, some account of the author of *Flores Historiarum* † would be appropriate to this place, as it is more probable, according to Wharton and Nicholson‡, that he lived about this time, than seventy years later, which is the opinion of Bale and Pits. If he were a monk of Westminster, as is generally supposed, for in this monastery Adam Murimuth found his book, which he continued, his name could not have been *Matthew*, for there is not one of that Christian name in all the various lists of monks yet remaining in the archives of the church. The first time he appears by the name of Matthew is in a manuscript of his history§, which belonged to the stout Bishop of Norwich, and that is between the years 1370 and 1406. In Bishop Tanner's Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica‖, one Reading, a monk of Westminster, is said to have been the author of the first part of the Flores, and Matthew Pariensis, a canon of St. Paul's, of the second. There was certainly a Robert Reading, a monk of Westminster, at this time; but no such person as Matthew Paris appears to have been a canon of St. Paul's. The historian and monk of the abbey of St. Alban's is the only ecclesiastic known to possess that name. The author in question has transcribed very largely from Matthew Paris, and referred to the *Additimenta* as his own work; a circumstance which might, perhaps, occasion such as lived some time afterwards to quote him by the name of *Matthew*.

* *Archives.*

† *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 32, 33.

‡ Page 66, edit. 1714.

§ Cotton Library, Claudius, E. 8.

‖ Page 619.

WILLIAM CURTLYNGTON.

This monk succeeded Richard de Sudbury*. He had been confidentially employed in the affairs of the two last abbots; by the former in the business of his household, and by the latter respecting the money to be raised for the payment of the pope. From the manner in which he was elected, there is every reason to presume that he was a man of approved character. He was chosen, April 24, 1315, as it was termed, *per viam Spiritus Sancti;* by which is to be understood, that when a person was named as a proper object of their choice, the assembled electors should instantly and unanimously agree to it. As such a circumstance very rarely occurred, it was supposed to be occasioned by the special influence of the Holy Ghost, and consequently acquired this superlative denomination†.

In the month of July in the same year‡, he proceeded, with the attendance of two of his monks, Robert de Raby and John de Wanting, to Valence, in Dauphiny, where the cardinals held their conclave during the vacancy of the papal see. To them he presented the attestation of a notary-public, that he came for his confirmation within three months, the time limited by a constitution of Pope Nicholas III. He must, however, have been induced to remain there through a considerable part of the following year, as it appears, that on May 16, 1316, the king presented to the vicarages of Laleham and Peclesham, which were in the patronage of the monastery.

He rebuilt the manor-house of Islip, as well as that in which Edward the Confessor was born, adjoining the church§. He did the same by that of Sutton, in Gloucestershire. These were two of the estates assigned to the abbot's portion.

* Flete.

† *Archives of the Church.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Flete.

He visited the hospital of St. James in July, 1319, and again in October, 1320*. On these occasions he made certain regulations, as well as inflicted punishments and penalties on the master and several of the brethren, for improper conduct.

He died September 11, 1333, and was buried in the south part of the cross, before the altar of St. Benedict, near the tomb of Sir John Shorditch†. His image in brass in the pontifical habit was inserted in the gravestone; but the metallic representation having disappeared, the particular stone cannot be distinguished. His epitaph does not transcend those of his predecessors.

Hæc est Abbatis Willelmi tumba, sciatis;
Quem mors amovit et Curtlyngtonia fovit.
In mortis portu se Christi corpore pavit,
Sic expiravit mundus confessus ab ortu.

The prior and convent, on paying a fine of one hundred pounds, obtained from the king the keeping of the temporalities on the death of their abbot. Ten marks appear to have been assigned for the maintenance of his anniversary.

THOMAS HENLEY.

This monk, at the time of his election, which was in the latter part of September, 1333, held the office of one of the treasurers of the monastery. He was confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the pope's name, and had the temporalities restored to him on the 29th of June in the same year‡.

* *Archives of the Church.*

† Flete.

‡ Ibid.

Henley had a long contest with the king's treasurers*, concerning the right to visit the hospital of St. James†, which originated in the following circumstance. Several abbots had officially visited this hospital; but as some of them had been treasurers to the king, it was insisted that they had acted in their lay character, and not as conventual dignitaries. It was pleaded, on the contrary, by Henley, that several abbots of Westminster who had not been treasurers, and, in particular, his immediate predecessor, had not only visited there, but formed regulations, corrected abuses, and directed punishments for offenders.

In June, 1342, the trial came on to a hearing, and the jury gave a verdict for the abbot, on the grounds that the hospital was within the parish of St. Margaret, where the abbots had the sole and an immemorial jurisdiction, confirmed to them by certain bulls of Pope Clement III.; and because the abbots had exclusively exercised every kind of visitatorial power in it. But this verdict was not conclusive; for the treasurer contrived to prevent any judgment being given upon it, and prolonged the suit beyond the lives of the persons who commenced it. It has indeed been represented that the next treasurer, William de Edynden, taking advantage of the indolent disposition of the succeeding Abbot Byrcheston, deprived the abbey of the long contested claim‡.

It may be observed, that from this verdict, which is still on record§, Stow and other modern writers have taken the history of this hospital. From them we learn, on this authority, that it was first founded, and endowed with two hides of land, by some citizens of London who held them of the abbots of Westminster, for fourteen leprous maids; but the names of the benefactors, and the time when they formed this charitable establishment, are no longer known. They also

* Flete.

† Appendix, No. V.

‡ *Biblioth. Cotton.* Cleopatra, A. 16.

§ *Niger Quaternus*, fol. 137.

relate, that afterwards certain inhabitants of London gave a yearly rent to the value of fifty-six pounds, and that eight brothers, consisting of six chaplains and two laymen, were added to perform divine and other service for those afflicted women.

In the year 1335, Henley obtained a licence from the king to be absent from the monastery for seven years, in order to pursue his studies at Oxford; but the particular reasons which induced him to apply for the licence, or the advantages which he derived from it, are no where mentioned.

In the year 1338, he was chosen one of the presidents of the Benedictines at their triennial chapter held at Northampton*.

He remitted to the monastery nine dishes of meat, six conventual loaves, and three flaggons of beer, which were used to be daily furnished for the abbot's table when he was at Westminster or the manor-house of Neyte; as also thirty pieces of oak timber yearly from the wood at Hendon. He likewise gave a costly pastoral staff, or crosier, to add to the ceremonial state of the abbot.

He died at Oxford, October 29, 1344, and was brought from thence to the abbey, where he was buried on the fourth day of the succeeding month, under the lower part of the pavement, before the high altar†. The epitaph, such as it is, describes him as a man of many virtues.

Hic Abbas Thomas Henle jacet, aspicito mors.

Petre, pater Romæ, memor esto tui, rogo, Thomæ.
Fratres jure regens, sacram vitam, scio, degens;
Verax sermone fuit, et plenus ratione,
Auxilians vere genti, quam vidit egere.
Quos sanctos scivit monachos, hos semper adivit;
Atque sibi tales monachos fecit speciales,
Rex et magnates laudant ejus bonitates.

* Reyner *de Antiq. Benedictorum Angliæ.*

† Flete.

Nunc jacet orbatus Thomas sub marmore tectus,
Sit, precor, electus, et cum sanctis sociatus.
Octobris fato decessit mense, grabato,
Anno milleno, ter centeno, scio pleno
Corde, quadragesimo quarto. Sepelitur in imo.

SYMON DE BYRCHESTON.

This person succeeded Henley November 10, 1334*; but the manner of his election is not particularly described. He had been a monk, and served some of the annual offices of the monastery; but does not appear to have been the prior of it at the time of his election†. In the following year the king granted him permission to absent himself from his cloister for three years, for the purpose of pursuing his studies in the university of Oxford.

He assigned to the monastery, on the condition of establishing an anniversary ceremonial in honour of himself, at the annual charge of eight pounds, the profits arising from St. Edward's fair, which belonged to the abbot's portion, to be applied to the work of the cloisters, and a parlour for the monks, then in a state of erection; and when they were completed, to the repair and maintenance of the fabric of the church‡.

He enjoyed the abbacy but a few years; and it was fortunate for the establishment that it was of so short duration: for he was of a very extravagant disposition, maintained dishonest people about him, and supported relations who were as wasteful as himself§. He was carried off by the plague May 15, 1349,

* Flete.

† *Archives of the Church.*

‡ From the instrument in Flete.

§ Qui locum illum ore alieno, propria superfluitate, fraude familiarium, atque parentum vastatione, nimis oneratum reliquit.—*Biblioth. Cotton.* Cleopatra, A. 16. fol. 158.

with twenty-six of the monks; who, as Fuller conjectures in his book of Worthies, were buried in one grave, and under the large stone in the cloisters called *Long Meg*. It has, indeed, been supposed by some to cover the remains of Gervaise de Blois; but that error has been already exposed.

Abbot Byrcheston was buried in the east cloister, near the door of the chapter-house. A small stone of black marble was distinguished by the following epitaph*:—

De Byrchestona Simon venerabilis Abbas
Præminet ex merito nomine perpetuo.
Jam precibus fultus fratrum cum patribus almis,
Felix iste pater floreat ante deum.

The custody of the temporalities, previous to the confirmation of the abbot, was again committed to the prior and the monks.

SIMON LANGHAM.

This extraordinary man is supposed, from his name, and a legacy which he left to the church there, to have been born at Langham, in the county of Rutland†. It does not appear that he was a monk of this church previous to the year 1335‡. In 1346 he was proxy for the Abbot Byrcheston at the triennial chapter of the Benedictines held at Northampton§. In April, 1349, he became the prior; and the abbot dying in the following month, he, at the latter end of it, was elected to succeed him‖; and, in a short time, proceeded to Avignon to obtain the confirmation of his holiness the pope.

* Flete.

† See his Will, No. VI. Appendix.

‡ Comp. *Camer.* anno Edw. III. 14.

§ *Quaternus Niger.*

‖ *Biblioth. Cotton.* Cleopatra, A. 16, fol. 188.

He paid the debts of his two predecessors*, which had been contracted by the law charges of the one and the extravagance of the other. They amounted to two thousand two hundred marks, exclusive of two hundred for which the monastery itself stood engaged. These he also discharged. It is said† that he accomplished these payments on his taking possession of the abbey, and with the money which he saved while he was a monk, or during the time he filled the office of prior. But this opinion appears to be of a dubious character; for the Benedictine monks, according to the regulations of their order, could not possess private property‡; and though the surplus of the estates given for the anniversary of Queen Eleanor§, was, after defraying the charges of that service, divided among the monks; yet this circumstance could not furnish him with a sum, in any degree, adequate to such a purpose; for he was a monk but a few years, and the prior only a few weeks. It is elsewhere stated, with greater probability, that as the abbots had a considerable part of the estates of the monastery assigned for their individual use, Langham was, by an attentive economy, enabled to relieve his abbey from the debt with which he found it encumbered‖.

The place of serjeant of the cellar had become an hereditary office, and this abbot purchased it for the advantage of the house**. He also gave from his own portion a garden somewhere in the close called the Bourgoigne; but the reason of its name is no where explained. There were other places in Westminster with

* Flete.

† *Antiquitat. Britan.*

‡ Cap. 33.

§ Comp. *Maner. Reginæ Aleonoræ.*

‖ Qui locum illum nimis indebitatum suis parcens in brevi sapienter restituit.—*Biblioth. Cotton.* Cleopatra, A. 16.

** Flete.

foreign denominations, as Petty France and Petty Calais*; the former of which was so called because the French merchants who traded with the woolstaplers occupied it; and the latter derived its name from being the residence of the staple merchants of Calais†.

He never accepted any gift or present from the monastery‡, which was a usual practice with his predecessors. He ordered, also, that the *Misericordia*, which in our universities are called exceedings and gawdy days, should no longer be confined to a select number of monks as had been the custom, but be enjoyed by the whole community.

He also reformed various other abuses, and introduced into the house such an excellent system of discipline, that, as Flete observes, had he done nothing more, he might be considered as equal to the founder. This service, indeed, was as useful as the undertaking was difficult; for he had to influence men of such various tempers and dispositions, that it required no common exertion of patience and resolution to effect the salutary object§.

In November, 1360, he was appointed lord treasurer, for which advancement he was indebted to the excellence of his character: nor did he fail, says Flete, in that station, to influence Edward III. to be more kind and liberal to the monastery than he had hitherto been‖.

* A street in Westminster still retains the name of Petty France.

† H. Turner's manuscript *History of Westminster*.

‡ Flete.

§ Quantaque industria quorundam insolentias, abusiones, singularitates, superfluitates, et malitias extirpavit.—FLETE.

‖ The only gifts, however, on record from this prince, consisted of two stags yearly from Windsor Forest, to be added to the eight bucks formerly given by Henry III. and certain relics for the service of the church, which are particularized in the catalogue of benefactions.

In the year 1361, he was elected Bishop of London; but the see of Ely becoming vacant about the same time, he preferred the latter, and was consecrated to it on the 20th of March, 1361-2. As the revenues of Ely were larger than those of London, his choice of the former has been attributed to a spirit of avarice; but such an opinion finds no justification in his subsequent conduct. No man was ever more deserving of a large revenue than himself; for no one ever employed it to more benevolent purposes.

On February 19, 1363-4, he was advanced from the office of lord treasurer to that of lord chancellor of England; an elevation for which he was indebted to his superior and acknowledged qualifications. Nor was this all; for, on July 24, 1366, he was, not by papal provision, but at the special desire of the king, translated to the see of Canterbury. On this occasion, a sarcastic poet of the day, who was neither friendly to the prelate nor to truth, let loose the following lines:—

Lætantur cæli, quia Simon transit ab Ely;
Cujus ad adventum in Kent flent millia centum*.

In the Lives of the Bishops of Ely, published by Wharton†, Langham is mentioned with a marked regard, and in terms of real veneration. The successors in that see are certainly indebted to him for procuring a grant from the king, that, on a vacancy, the officers of government should not seize the stock or implements of husbandry belonging to the bishopric, but only the profits or income of the estates. During the time he wore that mitre, he held a diocesan synod, in which he made several canons to rectify certain abuses, as well as to controul the behaviour of his clergy‡.

* *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 47.

† *Ibid.* p. 663.

‡ *Concilia Britan.*—Wilkins, vol. III. p. 59.

He possessed the archbishopric but little more than two years; but, during that short period, he maintained the character which he had so well established, of unremitting attention to his duties. In a visitation of his province, he determined a dispute between the clergy and inhabitants of London concerning tythes; when it was decreed that the payment should be after the rate of a farthing for every ten shillings rent of their houses, on each Sunday and festival of the year which had a vigil*. This was, indeed, no more than a confirmation of what the clergy had claimed as their due; which had been allowed them before by Roger Niger, Bishop of London, and received, subsequent to the time of Langham, the confirmations of Archbishop Arundel in 1397, of Pope Innocent VII. in 1404, and of Pope Nicholas V. in 1453. In 1465, the city of London, in common council, made an order, that the bull of this last pope should be obeyed. It appears that the tythes were paid in this manner till the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. when, by a decree of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and other lords of the council, which was afterwards confirmed by parliament, the payment was settled at two shillings and nine pence per pound†.

Pope Urban V. with a view to correct the prevailing excess of pluralities, published an order that the metropolitans should, in their respective provinces, collect the names of the clergy who held them, and of the benefices which composed them. This command from the papal court Archbishop Langham executed with his accustomed diligence and activity; when he found that some of the clergy possessed, to the dishonour of the church and of religion, upwards of twenty of these benefices with cure of souls‡.

* Wharton *de Episcopis Londinensibus*, p. 86.

† Anno 1545.

‡ *Concilia Britan.*—Wilkins, vol. III. p. 62.

The archbishop, however, does not seem to have acted with his usual rectitude and love of justice in respect to John de Wickliffe, who afterwards became such a brilliant luminary of the Reformation*. Simon Islip, who was the predecessor of Langham, had founded and endowed an establishment at Oxford, called Canterbury Hall, now a part of Christ-Church, and had removed Wickliffe from the mastership of Baliol College, where he had been placed, on account of his learning and eminent talents, to be the head of it. Langham, nevertheless, wished to remove him in favour of a monk of Christ-Church in Canterbury. The motive assigned by the archbishop for his conduct did not arise from any supposed heresy in Wickliffe's religious opinions, for he had not yet divulged those which he afterwards so courageously, and with such superior ability, maintained; but because the most reverend prelate being determined to make this establishment a college for the exclusive education of monks, considered a secular priest as an improper person to be entrusted with the government of them. This new arrangement the members of the college resisted, when the archbishop manifested his displeasure by sequestering a part of their revenues. They then appealed to Rome against this act of injustice; and represented it as an invasion of the rights granted to them by their founder, which ought to be held inviolable and sacred: but Langham's interest prevailed at the papal court, and Wickliffe was removed, with several others.

In September, 1368, Pope Urban V. elevated Langham to the dignity of a cardinal†. As it does not appear that he courted this promotion, it is probable that the pope was induced by his eminent character, or, perhaps, by his ready execution of the papal constitution respecting pluralities, voluntarily to enroll him in the sacred college. Edward III. however, from his jealousy of papal encroach-

* *Antiquitates Oxon.* p. 183.

† *Ciaconii Vitæ Pontificum Romæ*, 1601.

ments, was very much displeased on the occasion, and immediately ordered the temporalities of the archbishopric to be seized, as having become vacant by this elevation. The vacancy followed of course, as it was a canonical regulation, that by such a promotion the ecclesiastic who received it was discharged by the pope from his obligation to attend a particular church, that he might be employed in the service of the church universal*. It was not, however, uncommon for the pope to allow the promoted person, as a special favour, to hold his former preferments in commendam†. Nay, instances are on record where a previous agreement was made to retain them. Thus, in the year 1383, Walter Wardelaw refused to be invested with the dignity of cardinal, but on the condition that his archbishopric of Glasgow might be associated with it‡. Langham did not take that precaution, though it is not improbable that he was disqualified from doing it, by his ignorance of the honour designed him, till it was conferred. The crown had a natural interest in this kind of preferment; and our kings were not disposed to favour the ecclesiastics who were thus advanced without their application and concurrence, as such persons might be reasonably suspected of preferring the interests of the pope who had exalted them to those of their own sovereign. In the year 1426§, when Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and great-uncle of Henry VI. was made a cardinal, it was debated in council, whether, by accepting that dignity, he had not forfeited his place as privy-counsellor‖; but though, from his near relation to the king, he was permitted to retain that character, it

* In the year 1278, the cardinalate being conferred on Robert Kilwardby, the archbishopric of Canterbury was vacated, and bestowed by papal provision on John Peckham.

† Beluzius *de Papis Avenionensibus*, vol. I. col. 1031.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. I. col. 1312.

§ Gibson's *Codex*, p. 77.

‖ Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. X. p. 414, 497.

was, nevertheless, resolved, that he should always withdraw from the council when any matter in dispute between the crown and the court of Rome became a subject of debate*.

Whatever disappointment Langham might suffer at the loss of his archbishopric, he was too wise to engage in a contest for that which he well knew he should not obtain; he, therefore, quietly submitted to the king's pleasure. Soon after, in consequence of the royal permission, he retired to Otford, a house belonging to his late see, where he reduced his domestic establishment; and, after living for some time there in a state of privacy, proceeded to Montifiascone, in Italy, where the papal court was then held, when the title of St. Sextus was conferred upon him†. He afterwards received from the pope and his successor the deanery of Lincoln, the archdeaconry and treasurership of Wells, the archdeaconry of York, and the prebend of Wistowe in that church, which, collectively, formed a revenue of a thousand pounds‡.

In the year 1371, Gregory II. fulfilling the intention of his predecessor, Pope Urban, appointed him and the French Cardinal Beauvois to mediate a peace between the kings of England and France; but this legation was not attended with the success which had been expected from it§.

In the beginning of the following year the cardinal returned to the pope at Avignon, and as he passed through Canterbury generously presented each of the monks of Christ-Church with a piece of gold. On his arrival, however, at the papal court, he was accused of having neglected to maintain the ceremonial of his high rank in the church, and of demeaning himself to the king of England.

* Anstis *Reg. of the Garter.*

† Baluzius *de Papis Avenionensibus*, vol. I. col. 1024.

‡ *Archives of the Church.*

§ Baluzius, vol. I. col. 427.—Fabian's *Chronicle of England and France.*

From this charge, which appeared to be founded in misrepresentation, he readily exculpated himself*; and was, in the same year, nominated Cardinal Bishop of Prænestet.

Whittlesey, Archbishop of Canterbury, dying in July, 1374, the monks of Christ-Church in that city, from a sense of gratitude for the cardinal's kind and generous conduct to them, made a postulation for his being restored to that see‡; but this act of regard to their former archiepiscopal pastor and benefactor so displeased the king, that it was with some difficulty, as well as expence, Edward was turned aside from the resolution he had formed to banish them, for what he considered as an insolent proceeding. Nor would the pope and cardinals admit of the postulation, though from another motive; for they wanted the services of such an able and highly qualified man, as they knew Langham to be, at Avignon.

In the course of the next year England was visited by the plague, when Langham interested himself in the spiritual welfare of those, and they were very numerous, who were carried off by it. On this afflicting occasion he obtained from the pope two bulls, granting, to all who died penitently, that full pardon of their sins which he alone was thought able to bestow§.

By some letters in the archives of the church it appears, that about this time he had formed a design of founding some chauntries at Westminster and Kilbourne, as well as of rebuilding the western part of the church. For the endowment of the former, he gave a thousand marks to purchase an estate of forty marks per annum; towards the latter he contributed six hundred marks, and was very anxious that the work should proceed with all possible expedition. It may be

* *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 794.

† Baluzius, vol. I. col. 1025.

‡ *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 794.

§ *Ad. Murimuth Continuatio*, p. 132.

collected, also, from the same letters, that, on a report of the pope's intention to remove from Avignon to Rome, Langham felt an unwillingness to go thither, and was anxious to receive an invitation from the king to pass the remainder of his days in England.

He died at Avignon, July 22, 1376, two days after an attack of the palsy, as he sat at dinner. His body, according to the directions of his last will and testament, was first deposited in a church of the Carthusians lately erected near that city. Three years afterwards it was brought over, and interred in St. Bennet's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, by the monks, with a respect and solemnity due to such a man and such a benefactor. An hundred pounds were expended on his funeral, besides the cost of his tomb, which, with his effigy upon it, and the arms of England, of Westminster Abbey, and the sees of Canterbury and Ely, still remains in a fair condition. The epitaph expresses his several preferments and the time of his death*.

Simon de Langham sub petris hijs tumulatus,
Istius ecclesiæ monachus fuerat, prior, abbas.
Sede vacante fuit electus Londoniensis,
Præsul et Antistes Hely, sed postea primas
Totius regni, magnus regisque minister,
Nam Thesaurarius et Cancellarius ejus;
Ac Cardinalis in Roma presbiter iste,
Postque Prenestrinus est factus episcopus, atque
Nuncius ex parte papæ transmittitur isthuc.
Urbe dolente pater, quem nunc revocare nequimus
Magdalenæ festo, milleno septuageno
Et ter centeno sexto Christi ruit anno.
Hunc Deus absolvat de cunctis quæ male gessit,
Et meritis matris sibi cælica guadia donet.

* Flete.

The inscription in prose on the verge of his tomb is still remaining: "Hic "jacet Dominus Simon de Langham, quondam abbas hujus loci, Thesaurarius "Angliæ, electus London. Ep. Elien. Cancellar. Angliæ, Archiep. Cantuar. "Presbyter Cardinalis, et postea Ep. Prenestrinus"——The rest has disappeared.

By his will*, he was very bounteous to the fabric of the abbey. The aggregate of his benefactions to this place, including the debts of his predecessors which he discharged, and what he gave during his life for his anniversary, to found chauntries, and towards the completion of the building, amounted, as it is recorded in the following lines, to ten thousand eight hundred pounds.

Res, æs de Langham tua Simon sunt data quondam,
Octingentena librarum millia dena.

Flete represents this eminent ecclesiastic to have been a person of great capacity, superior wisdom, and commanding eloquence. To which may be added a spirit and temper admirably qualified for the concerns of active life and public station, a generous nature, and a humane regard for all who were subject to him: nor should it be forgotten, among the other distinctions of his character, that he never ceased to remember, with the most grateful regard, the place where he had received his education, and within whose walls was laid the foundation of that greatness which he afterwards attained, adorned, and dignified†.

* Appendix, No. VI.

† Pits, in his work *de Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, mentions, that Langham wrote a book of customs and some sermons, of which nothing more appears to be known.

Dart mentions also, that at this period flourished John Wilton, a monk of this house, who was eminent for his learning and piety. His works bear the following curious titles:—*The Clock of Wisdom*, *The Sting of Compassion*, *The Benefits of God*, and some homilies.—Cotton Library, *Cleopatra*, A. 10.

NICOLAS LITLINGTON.

This person was prior of the monastery when Abbot Langham was advanced to the bishopric of Ely, in April, 1362, whom he was named to succeed*. He was senior to his predecessor, and from his active disposition had rendered himself very useful to his cloister†. He had obtained, in free gift, the custody of the temporalities of the abbey during three successive vacancies. The first by the favour of the queen, and the others immediately from the king. He also improved the estate of the convent at Hyde, now Hyde Park, and also at Bemflete, in Essex, without any charge to the house‡. For these services an anniversary was allowed him while he was prior, a very marked and unusual distinction. In the month of January preceding his election, a high wind had made great havoc among the abbot's manor houses, all of which he rebuilt, in the course of three years, in a style far superior to their former condition§. Not one of the abbots, his predecessors or successors, was so attentive to the improvements of the buildings of the abbey, or added so much to its splendour by presents of plate and other costly articles for its ceremonial and devotional service. He built the present college hall‖ (the site of the old one having been on the south side of the great cloisters, the north wall of which is still remaining); the Jerusalem chamber; part of the abbot's house, now the deanery**; the houses of several of the officers, being those of the bailiff, the cellarer, the infirmarer, and the sacrist; the great malt-house, formerly the dormitory of the king's scholars, and the tower adjoining, which

* *Archives of the Church.*

† Flete.

‡ *Archives.*

§ *Ad. Murimuth Continuatio*, p. 115, and Flete.

‖ It may, perhaps, have been the abbot's hall, and not that of the college. If it were otherwise, he neglected a magnificent building to construct an ordinary one. The wall now forms the division between two prebendal gardens and the south cloister.

** In part only.

was once the apartment of the second master; the stone wall of the infirmary garden, now the college garden; the water-mill, and a stone wall or faceing to the mill-dam, which has been filled up, or the ditch belonging to it. He likewise completed the south and west sides of the great cloisters*.

He gave to the great hall as much plate of different kinds as weighed one hundred and four pounds, and nearly an equal quantity for the use of the abbots his successors, besides silver utensils for the misericordia room, which weighed forty pounds†. For this sumptuous benefaction it was ordered, that at the grace after meals he should be specially prayed for, and by name. He also gave to the abbey an enriched mitre which cost one hundred marks, a pastoral staff of the value of fifteen pounds, a grand missal‡ and two gilt chalices to the high altar. He likewise presented new furniture of all sorts, as priests' vestments, and chalices; with a censer, bell, basin, and pix, all of silver gilt, to the abbot's chapel; besides service books both to that and the chapel of the infirmary§.

* *Archives of the Church.*

† Flete.

‡ This missal is still preserved in great beauty, and was in the year 1806 cleaned and new bound.

§ Widmore says, that as he was enabled to do all this with the money left by his predecessor Langham, it became him to add some memorial of the cardinal on the buildings, as he has placed his own arms and the initial letters of his name on the key-stone of the cloister arches. But be this as it may, it cannot be denied that he was a faithful dispenser of the cardinal's property. Besides, Litlington might himself be rich, for he was a monk of some eminence before Langham's advancement, and had received the profits of three vacancies of as many abbots, previous to their confirmation, of which Langham was one. Widmore does not appear to do him that justice which, according to Flete, he amply deserves: for, whatever money Langham left, he seems to have been a faithful steward of it, and to have applied much of his own substance likewise, both ably and skilfully, for the honour of the church. Nothing appears to have been ostentatious in his conduct but the donation of plate, if what he gave for the public service and figure of the church may deserve that appellation; while his personal conduct, considering the firm and manly defence of his rights, was highly meritorious.

In the time of this abbot there was a serious contest with the dean and canons of the college of St. Stephen, founded within the royal palace at Westminster by Edward III. relative to jurisdiction*. The cause was carried to Rome, where sentence was given by the papal court in favour of the abbey, and St. Stephen's chapel declared to be subject to its jurisdiction, in the same manner as the other chapels within the parish of St. Margaret. But the chapter of St. Stephen, which was supported by the court, refused to submit to this sentence, and the suit was continued. At length, however, in the year 1394, by the interference of the king and several persons of high rank, it terminated in a composition, when it was agreed between the contending parties, that the chapel of St. Stephen, the chapel of St. Mary beneath it, a small chapel on the south side, then used as a chapter-house, and the chapel de la Pewe, should be exempt from the parish and the abbey, the college paying five marks annually to the latter, and the right to institute and instal the deans there being reserved to the Abbot of Westminster.

In the year 1378, the following remarkable circumstance occurred respecting the right of sanctuary†. Robert Hawley and John Schakell, two brave soldiers, had, in the wars in Spain, under the Black Prince, in 1367, taken prisoner the Count of Denia, a Spaniard of high rank; and, in that age, the ransom of a person taken in battle belonged to those whose particular prisoner he was adjudged to be. The captive nobleman accordingly sent for his eldest son to remain in England as an hostage for himself. The young count arrived, and was accepted as a pledge for his father, who, on his arrival in Spain, forgot all sense of honour and paternal affection; for he paid no attention whatever to the ransom, and left his son to all the misery and disgrace of his unredeemed situation. Some years after,

* Flete and the *Archives of the Church*.

† Thomas Walsingham.

the Duke of Lancaster, who, in right of his wife Constantia, of Castile, laid claim to that kingdom, demanded the captive Spaniard of Hawley and Schakell, who, on their refusal to deliver him up without a sufficient consideration, were committed to the Tower; from which place they contrived to escape, and took sanctuary in Westminster Abbey. Sir Alan Boxhull, constable of the Tower, and Sir Ralph Ferrars, pursued them with fifty armed men, and, seizing Schakell, sent him back to the Tower, while Hawley fled into the church; where, on his attempting to resist them, they killed him in the choir, during the ceremony of high mass. The day of the month when this sacrilege was perpetrated has been recorded in the following verses, inscribed on that part of the pavement where the unfortunate man was murdered.

M. Domini C. ter, septuaginta, his dabis octo,
Taurini celebrem plebe colente diem.
Hic duodena prius in corpore vulnera gestans,
Ense petente caput Haule Robertus obit.
Cujus in interitu libertas, cultus, honestas
Planxit militiæ immunis ecclesiæ.

The festival of Taurinus, mentioned in these verses, who, according to the legendary accounts, was Bishop of Evreux, in Normandy, in the first century, was kept on the 11th day of August*. Hawley was buried in the south part of the cross; and of his epitaph, the following lines remained in the time of Camden†.

Me dolus, ira, furor multorum, militis atque

---

* Baronius *on the Roman Martyrology.*

† *Reges, Reginæ, &c.* by Camden. Quarto, Lond. 1606.

——— in hoc gladiis celebri pietatis asylo
Dum Levita Dei sermones legit ad aram.
Proh dolor! ipse meo monachorum sanguine vultus
Aspersi moriens: chorus est mihi testis in ævum:
Et me nunc retinet sacer is locus Hawle Robertum,
Hic quia pestiferos male sensi primitus enses.

The church having been profaned by this murder, was shut up for four months*; when the Archbishop of Canterbury, attended by five bishops, with great solemnity excommunicated Boxhull and Ferrars, and all others concerned in this bloody deed†. The Bishop of London also, every Wednesday and Friday, for a certain period, repeated the excommunication at St. Paul's‡. Boxhull and Ferrars afterwards agreed to pay two hundred pounds to the abbey by way of penance§. Some years after the old Spanish count died, when the council took the matter into consideration, and agreed with Schakell that he should give up his prisoner for five hundred marks, to be instantly paid, and an hundred marks yearly during his life. He accordingly brought the captive nobleman from his supposed confinement, who, to the astonishment of every one, appeared to be his valet. Thus he had contrived to induce this young Spaniard to attend him in a menial capacity; and the latter seems to have been influenced by a most determined principle of honour to adopt the character of a servant in a strange country, and to serve a person in the confines of a prison, in order to redeem the base conduct of an unnatural father.

* *Niger Quaternus:* a register book of the abbey so called, f. 88.

† Thomas Walsingham.

‡ *Niger Quaternus*, f. 87.

§ T. Walsingham.

In the parliament which was soon after held at Gloucester, the abbot conducted himself with great spirit respecting this violation of sanctuary; and in the next parliament held at Westminster its privileges were confirmed, but with this reasonable limitation, that the goods of a person flying to its protection, should be liable to the payment of his debts.

In the last year of his abbacy, on an expected invasion from France, Litlington, though he was at least seventy years of age, laid aside his crozier for the spear, and, with two of his monks, prepared to go armed to the seacoast, to assist in the defence of his country. One of these monastic brethren, John Canterbury, seems to have been admirably qualified to attend, and, if necessary, to protect his abbot; for he is described as being of such uncommon stature, that when, as the invasion did not take place, his armour was taken into London to be sold, no one could be found of a size suited to its dimensions. ‡

Litlington died November 29, 1386, at the manor-house of Neyte, near Westminster, which must at that time have been a very commodious and handsome residence, as the Duke of Lancaster*, who styled himself King of Castile, requested his permission to occupy it during the sitting of a parliament at Westminster. The abbot was buried before the door of the vestry, and near the altar of St. Blaise†. The gravestone seems to be still there, and his epitaph, though the stone bears no appearance of it, was one of those which follow:—

Si liceat laudare virum post fata, perhenni
Ære tuos sonet, abba, pios ut versus honores,
Facta, genus, mores, pietas, prudentia, virtus,
Poscunt, urget, avent, suadet, monet, incitat atque.
Os, ratione, manus, aures, vaga lumina, gressus,
Subtrahis a vitiis, morum gravitate modestus.

* *Archives of the Church.*

† Flete.

Constanter pro jure Dei bellans tua virtus
Contulit exemplar aliis posteribus ingens.
Sentiat alma parens Litlington nunc Nicolaus
Morte quod invita tibi det: devotus amavit.
Fit fatata dies penultima mense Novembris,
C. ter, et X. ter, et L. M. sex, hujus necis annus.

Or this,

Hacce domo ductor Nicolaus erat quoque structor,
Et sibi tunc sedem, cælo construxit et ædem
M. semel, C. ter, erat annus sex octoagenus,
Cum perit iste abbas divino flamine plenus.
Quinta dies fit ei requies in fine Novembris.
Detur ei, pietate Dei, merces requiei.

Amen*.

In the time of this abbot, John de Reding†, a monk of Westminster, wrote a continuation of Adam Murimuth's *Chronicle* after the year 1325, but differing from that published by Hall‡. He gives the following modest account of himself and his work: "Sequentia futuris notari ac memorari quidam frater Johannes de "Reding, monachus Westmonasterii, nomine tantum, non conversatione, perfectâ "literâ vacuus et ingenio; plus relatione vulgari, quam propria consideratione, "seu literis magnatum instructus; ob prolixitatem actuum præsentium antiqua "scripta nunquam allegans, gravi labore, ac rudi modo contexuit."

WILLIAM DE COLCHESTER.

He had been a monk of this abbey since, or, perhaps, some time before, the year 1360, and was elected to the dignity of abbot December 16, 1386§. He

* These epitaphs are minutely copied from the manuscript.

† Cotton Library, *Cleopatra*, A. 16.

‡ Oxon. 1722.

§ *Niger Quaternus*, fol. 86.

had been employed by the monastery to conduct the lawsuit against the dean and canons of St. Stephen's at the court of Rome, from July 1377, till November 1379. Nor is it improbable that, as a reward for such a toilsome and even perilous service, he was promoted to the office of archdeacon, allowed a chamber and garden to himself, a yearly salary of six marks, a corrody or monk's provision, above his other allowance, and treated in all other respects as one of the senior monks.

It appears that he was again at Rome in the year 1384, and as the suit already mentioned was not then concluded, it may be presumed, that his second visit thither originated in the same cause as the first*. The papal provision for his appointment to the office of prior had been obtained; but he chose to disclaim it, as procured by his friends without his knowledge, and to sue out the king's pardon.

In 1391†, he was employed by the crown on some mission to the continent, but to what place, or on what particular occasion, no document appears to determine. In 1393, he was one of the presidents of the Benedictine triennial chapter; which high official character he also filled at two subsequent periods.

In 1394, Richard II. caused Anne his queen, sister of the Emperor Winceslaus, to be buried in great pomp in this church; all the principal nobility of the kingdom being ordered by the disconsolate monarch to attend the royal obsequies. He also caused a magnificent tomb to be erected for her and for himself. The gilding alone of the two figures which were placed upon it is recorded to have cost upwards of four hundred marks‡. He also granted lands of the yearly value of two hundred pounds for the support of their anniversaries§. This prince manifested, at all times, a favourable disposition to the Church of

* *Arch. Comp. Camerarii.*

† *Niger Quaternus*, fol. 87.

‡ *Ibid.* fol. 88.

§ *Archives of the Church.*

Westminster. There are two pictures still remaining in it, which are traditionally believed to have been given by him. The one represents the king himself, arrayed in his royal robes, and sitting in his coronation chair; the other displays a royal hart, which was his badge or device.

In 1395, and consequently during this abbacy, John Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, was buried in the Capella Regum; and such an unusual distinction being shewn to the remains of that prelate occasioned great discontent*. The bishop, indeed, was not only treasurer to the king, but stood high in his favour, and it was by the royal command that this sepulchral honour was conferred upon him. The abbey, however, had no reason to complain of this irregular act of sepulture; as the king presented it, on the occasion, with a vestment valued at a thousand marks. The executors of the bishop also gave another worth forty pounds, besides five hundred marks to found an anniversary for him.

In 1399, the abbot, according to Thomas Walsingham†, attended Richard in his ill-fated expedition to Ireland, though no satisfactory reason seems to have been assigned for his having been called to such a duty. He was, however, in a short time after, summoned to a very different office; as, on Michaelmas day, in the same year, he is seen among the commissioners who were deputed by the parliament to receive the resignation of his crown from the degraded monarch‡.

It has been related by some of our historians, who, it must be confessed, are full of contradictions on the subject, that this abbot, irritated by some disrespectful expressions formerly used by Henry IV. against the clergy, was, in the year 1400, the contriver of, or at least concerned in, a plot for destroying that prince; and that, failing in the execution of it, his disappointment was so severe as to occasion an attack of the palsy, which terminated in his death. This appears,

* Thomas Walsingham, p. 352.

† Ibid. p. 357.

‡ *Decem Scriptores*, col. 2743.

indeed, to be a very ill-founded story; for he certainly did not die till many years after the period when his death is dated, according to the foregoing relation*. It is also observable, that at this time, and afterwards, the house had more than its ordinary number of monks; a circumstance by no means consistent with this report. It is also equally remarkable, and no less contradictory, as referable to this story, that Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, after his trial and conviction for being concerned in a conspiracy at this very period, should be committed to the care of De Colchester; a circumstance which is authentically related†.

In May 1408, the abbot appears to have been at Pisa, in Italy‡; but the occasion of his visit to that city is no where specified. At that time, indeed, a meeting of eminent ecclesiastics was held there, relative to the schism which then prevailed in the papacy; and that circumstance may, in some measure, account for his journey thither.

March 20, 1412-13, Henry IV. being suddenly taken ill while performing his devotions in the church of the abbey, was removed into the Jerusalem chamber, a large room belonging to the abbot's house, and which still bears the name, where he died§.

* He died in the year 1420.

† Kennet's *History*, vol. II. p. 1396.—Rymer, vol. VIII. p. 150.

‡ Martenne, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum.*

§ The prophecy that he was to die at Jerusalem, and the manner in which it was fulfilled, is an old story. It is to be found in the *Historiæ Croylandensis Continuatio*, which was written in 1470, in the reign of Edward IV. It has also been adopted by Shakspeare in his second part of *Henry IV.* act 4, scene 4.

> It hath been prophesy'd to me many years,
> I should not die but in Jerusalem,
> Which vainly I suppos'd the Holy Land:
> But bear me to that chamber, there I'll lie;
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

October 20, 1414, this abbot was appointed one of the king's ambassadors to the council of Constance. His colleagues on this occasion were the Earl of Warwick, the Bishops of Bath and Wells, of Salisbury and Hereford, the Prior of Worcester, and the Abbot of St. Mary's, in the city of York.

In the closing years of his life the rebuilding of the abbey was carried on with renewed activity. The work seems to have been suspended during the reign of Henry IV.* but was very much encouraged by his son Henry V.; who, as it has been already observed, notwithstanding the pressures of his war with France, contributed the annual sum of a thousand marks towards its completion.

This abbot died some time in October 1420, having enjoyed his dignity for nearly thirty-four years; a period of administration unexampled for its length in this monastery. He was buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, where his tomb, with its effigy, is still remaining, but without epitaph or inscription. It has no other distinctive marks than the initials of his name, W. C. engraved on the pillow whereon his mitred head reposes. That his talents were well suited to public business, and that he employed them with superior sagacity and understanding, may be fairly presumed from the frequent and important occasions on which he was called to exercise them.

It is remarkable that, in the same year, the abbey consigned thirteen of its monks to the tomb; one of whom, Ralph Selby, deserves particular notice. In the year 1385, he was prebendary of Driffield, in the cathedral of York; in 1386, sub-dean of that church, and in 1392, by exchange, he became archdeacon of Buckingham. In 1395, he was one of the executors of Bishop Waltham. In 1398†, he was collated to the archdeanry of Norfolk. In 1399, he became a monk of this place. Other matters relative to him are mentioned in his epitaph.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. IX. p. 38.

† Le Neve's *Fasti*.

Ecce Radulphus ita Selby jacet hic cænobita,
Doctor per merita, præpotens lege perita:
Legibus ornatus, a regibus et veneratus:
Ordo, ejusque status per eum conciliatus.
M. C. quater X. bis post partum Virginis iste
Michaelis festo tibi spiravit, bone Christe.

About the year 1401, died Richard de Cirencestre, who became a monk of Westminster about the middle of the reign of Edward III. He is known by a history or chronicle of his composing, from the year 449, or the first invasion of the Saxons, to the year 1348, and which has never been printed. He also wrote a brief commentary on the situation of Britain, and the Roman stations in it. He was likewise a commentator on the Nicene and the Apostles' creed, a work whose actual existence is very doubtful.

William Sudbury, another monk of this house, during the abbacy of De Colchester, formed tables and indexes to Lyra and Thomas Aquinas.

RICHARD HARWEDEN.

He derived his name, it seems, from a place in the county of Northampton; and was received as a monk about the year 1398, and afterwards discharged several of its annual offices*. The care of the buildings of the monastery had likewise been entrusted to him for several years, under the title of *Custos novi operis.* He was also one of the treasurers appointed to receive the money given by Henry V. for the purpose of rebuilding the west part of the abbey, which had been left unaltered when Henry III. rebuilt the choir or east part of the church. It is not improbable that his assiduity and upright conduct in these offices might

* *The Archives of the Church.*

recommend him to the favour of that prince, as he succeeded to the abbacy by papal provision, which, it may be reasonably supposed, was procured by the interposition of the king. He was not prior at the time of his appointment, as a monk of the name of Robert Whately then held that office.

The burial of Henry V. is the only remarkable circumstance which appears to have taken place in the abbey during the time of Harweden, the particulars of whose splendid obsequies may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera**, in Stowe's *Annals*, and other histories. This prince was a bounteous friend to Westminster; for, besides the revenue of a thousand marks, which has been already stated, he gave two fine books, a *Psalter* and the *Flores Historiarum*. He also restored a ring, first given by Richard II. but had been stolen away, which was adorned with a ruby valued at a thousand marks. He also settled one hundred pounds annually for the maintenance of his anniversary, which were afterwards, in the twenty-third year of Henry VI. exchanged for lands, at this time in possession of the church†.

This abbot resigned his office, April 2, 1440, on account of his great age, and had a yearly allowance assigned him from the revenue of his successor, which was confirmed to him by the king and the pope, *quia diu laudibiliter præfuit*. At what period he died, or in what part of the church he was buried, there is no record or apparent vestige to determine.

EDMUND KYRTON.

This person is said to have been of the ancient family of *Cobildik* or *Cobbledike*, a name which is found in records as far back as the time of Edward I. It also appears, by a visitation in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that there were families

* Tom X. p. 255.

† Ledecombe Regis, Berks; Offord Cheny, Huntingdon.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom XI. p. 89.

of this name both in the counties of Lincoln and Suffolk: but as Kyrton is the name of a place in each of these provincial divisions, in both of which the abbey had lands, and as their arms agree respectively with those of the abbot*, it is not possible, without more decided information, to determine in which of them he was born.

He assumed the habit in this monastery about the year 1403†; was head or prior of the Benedictine scholars at Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, in Oxford, in 1423‡, and was held in respect and consideration by those of his order.

He was advanced to this dignity some time between May 27 and August 20, 1440; but of the precise date of his elevation, or the mode of his appointment, no traces now remain. He was esteemed an excellent divine, and is said to have added to his reputation by the sermons which he preached before Pope Martin V. He also revisited the court of Rome in 1437, being sent thither by the university of Oxford, with one Phillip Norreys, head of a hall there, who had been irregularly cited to appear before Pope Eugenius IV.§

This abbot resigned his office October 23, 1462, from the same cause as his predecessor; old age and infirmities. He received an annual pension of two hundred marks during his life, which he enjoyed about four years, as he died in October 1466, and was buried in St. Andrew's chapel; the screen of which he had enriched with ornamental decorations, consisting of birds, flowers, and cherubim, carved in wood, and varied with the arms, devices, and mottos of several of the

* A chevron gules between three cross crosslets, gules, in a field argent.

† *Archives of the Church.*

‡ He gave books to the library of this college, some of which, with his name prefixed, Anthony Wood states to have been in the university in his time.

§ Wood's *Historia Academiæ*, Oxon.

nobility. His tombstone, with the family arms engraved upon it, has survived the intervening ages. The following lines composed his epitaph.

Pastor pacificus, subjectis vir modcratus,
Hac sub marmorea petra requiescit humatus,
Edmundus Kirton: hic quondam qui fuit abbas,
Bis denis annis cum binis connumerandis.
Sacræ Scripturæ doctor probus, immo probatus
Illustri stirpe de Cobildik generatus:
Coram Martino Papa proposuit iste,
Ob quod multiplices laudes habuit et honores.
Qui obiit tertio die Octobris, A. D. MCCCCLXVI.
Eleison Kurie, curando morbida mundi.

In the commencement of Kyrton's abbacy, Nicolas Ashby, a monk of Westminster, and who had been prior from the year 1435, was made Bishop of Llandaff.

GEORGE NORWYCH.

When he succeeded to the dignity of abbot on Kyrton's resignation he was not the prior, but one of the senior monks of Westminster. John Flete, the historian of the abbey, and to whom all subsequent writers, who have treated subjects connected with it, have been so much indebted, then held that office.

This abbot managed the affairs of the monastery with such negligence and indiscretion, and loaded it with such a weight of debt, that, alarmed at the menaced visitation of his conduct, which the monks were about to petition the king to obtain*, he consented to assign over the administration of his office to the prior and two of his monks, to retire from the abbey, and live as a pensioner in some distant house of the Benedictine order, with a yearly allowance of one hundred

* Appendix, No. VII.

marks till his debts were redeemed. He died in the year 1469, but the place of his interment is no where mentioned. He appears to have been a person of an easy, complying disposition; and is supposed to have been too readily influenced by one of the monks, who, if that were the case, did not consider the honour of the abbot or the interest of the abbey*.

THOMAS MILLYNG.

He became a monk of this house about the year 1447; succeeded to the office of prior in 1465, on the death, or rather resignation, of John Flete, and in 1469 was advanced to the dignity of abbot. In the following year, when Edward IV. fled the kingdom, before the victorious arms of the Earl of Warwick, the queen, who was then in an advanced state of pregnancy, took refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey. She went thither privately from the Tower, and was received by the abbot with the humane and respectful attention due to her condition and character. Here she was preserved from violence and insult, and on the 4th of November following was delivered of an heir to the crown, who was afterwards Edward V.; at whose baptism the abbot and the prior ventured to become the sponsors.

Millyng is represented by Leland†, not only as a man of learning, but a Greek scholar and an eminent preacher, which were very uncommon qualifications in those days. His superior attainments, with the protecting kindness which he had shewn to the queen in her distress, powerfully recommended him to the king's favour; who not only made him a privy-counsellor, but, in the year 1474, promoted him to the bishopric of Hereford, which see he continued to

* This abbot's name is altogether unnoticed by Camden, Keep, and Dart, and barely mentioned by Mr. Willis.

† *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 483.

occupy till the year 1492, when he died. He was buried in the middle of St. John the Baptist's chapel in this church.

JOHN ESTENEY.

On Millyng's advancement to the mitre in 1474, Esteney was nominated abbot by papal provision, for which it may be reasonably supposed he was indebted to the recommendation of the king. In the cloister, he was the senior of his predecessor, and one of the three monks to whom the government of the monastery, on the mismanagement and resignation of Abbot Norwych, was committed. His entrance into the abbacy was marked by a system of frugality, whereby he was enabled to clear a debt of two thousand seven hundred pounds, contracted by several of the preceding abbots: it was, however, in a great measure, occasioned by their compulsory journies to Rome, and the fees paid for the confirmation of their respective elections, which usually amounted to eight hundred marks. Of this great expence and toilsome obligation they were eased in the year 1478. It had been a long and anxious object of solicitation on the part of the monastery*, which the papal court manifested a decided indisposition to grant: at length, however, it was obtained by the personal and persevering interposition of Edward IV. on condition that the abbey should make an annual payment of one hundred florins to the pope's treasury, for the remission of this troublesome and expensive duty†. In the same year, the two manors of *Hagley* and *Cradeley*, in *Worcestershire*, were settled by the king upon the monastery to furnish two monks, whose continual office it should be to pray for the souls of the king and queen, in a chapel which his majesty had built, near that of St. Mary, and was dedicated to St. Erasmus.

* As far back as the year 1421.

† Appendix, No. VIII.

Esteney obtained also from the pope a peculiar indulgence in favour of the monks of Westminster: it was no less than a permission that they might be ordained to the priesthood three years sooner than the canonical period, which was the age of twenty-four*.

This abbot was likewise obliged to pay one thousand pounds for fines, on account of persons escaped from its prison.

In his time the erection of the west end of the church proceeded without interruption; the vaulting was completed, and the great west window set up. The abbot did not entrust the care of this work, as had been usual by his predecessors, to some of the monks, but made it an object of his own immediate superintendence†.

He appears to have a superior claim to the distinction of having been the chief patron of William Caxton, the earliest English printer: the first book printed in England, entitled *The Game and Play of the Chesse,* having been executed in that part of Westminster Abbey called the *Eleemosynary* or *Almonry,* in the first year of his abbacy‡.

Esteney died in 1498, and was buried on the south side of St. John the Evangelist's chapel: his figure, in brass, clad in his officiating habit, still decorates the tombstone. A label of the same metal issues from his mouth, with these words engraved on it: "Exultabo in Domino Jesu meo." The inscription on

* Dispensations of this kind were not uncommon to individuals of high birth or superior interest, but they were very rarely granted to communities.

† Some lines, descriptive of his occupations, but not to be admired for their latinity or their poetry, may be seen in the Appendix, No. IX.

‡ Stowe, and others after him, say it was Abbot Islip; but he was not abbot, or even prior, till some years after Caxton's death. Nor could it be Millyng, Esteney's predecessor, unless books were printed here before the year 1474.

the margin has disappeared, but Camden states it to have been, in his time, " Hic jacet Dominus Johannes Esteney, quondam abbas hujus loci, qui obiit 24 " die mensis Maii, anno Dom. 1498, cujus animæ propitietur Deus*. Amen."

It is a remarkable circumstance, that, on the 17th of August, 1706, in digging a grave near Esteney's tomb, his coffin was found. On its being opened, it appeared to be lined with lead, and the body, which was clothed in crimson silk and other costly habiliments, was seen in an entire state. The natural veneration generally felt for the dead will, however, be gratified with the conclusion of the account, that these remains were re-inclosed with becoming care†.

GEORGE FASCET‡.

He became a monk of Westminster in the year 1474, served several annual offices of the monastery, and was made prior about the year 1493, from which situation he was unanimously elected to succeed Esteney in the dignity of abbot, July 1498§. He enjoyed his eminent station but little more than two years, as he died about Michaelmas 1500. He was interred in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, and his tomb is still in good preservation, with the following inscription in black letters on the ledge next the area: " Hic jacet Georgius Fascet quondam " Abbas Westmonasteriensis, qui obiit anno Domini ——." The year is no longer legible, and whatever was inscribed on the other side has been taken away.

* It was in the time of this abbot that the queen, mother of Edward V. alarmed at the conduct of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, retired within the precincts of Westminster Abbey, where she registered herself, the Duke of York, with all the princesses her daughters, and necessary servants, as sanctuary persons.

† Battely's *Coll. MS.*

‡ He is thus named by Willis, and not Flaccet as by Camden. He is, indeed, written Fasset in a lease dated 1490; but the gravestone must be allowed to determine the genuine orthography.

§ *Archives of the Church.*

JOHN ISLIP.

This distinguished ecclesiastic* first succeeded Fascet in the office of prior, and, October 27, 1500, was unanimously elected his successor in the principal dignity of the abbey. He became a member of this cloister about 1480, and was appointed, in regular succession, to the annual offices of the monastery.

In the year 1502-3, the first stone was laid of Henry VII.th's chapel; which has been the admiration of every succeeding age, and has done more to familiarize the name of its royal founder to posterity than any other act of his prosperous reign. Nor can the judicious, active, and pious attention now employed in the repair and restoration of this admirable building, whose exterior decorations were yielding to time's corroding power, be considered, without receiving the sincere applause of the passing period: nor will future ages be less grateful to that care which has preserved its incomparable beauties for their contemplation.

The general history respecting the erection of this chapel, as related by various writers, consists of the following particulars:—That it was built on the site of two chapels, the one dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the other to St. Erasmus, which were dilapidated for that purpose: that Abbot Islip, accompanied by several of the king's ministers of state, laid the first stone, January 24, 1502-3: that the stone used in the construction of it was brought from Hudderstone quarry, in Yorkshire: that the expence of the building amounted to fourteen thousand pounds; and that the whole of that sum was furnished from the royal treasury. But the real motive to its erection on this spot does not appear to have been generally known.

The fact was, that the king, having obtained the crown as heir of the House of Lancaster, and next of kin to Henry VI. the last of the Lancastrian line before him, he determined to pay every honour in his power to the memory of that unfortunate prince; who, after having been buried in the most negligent and

* Appendix, No. XXIII.

humble manner at Chertsea, was afterwards removed by Richard III. to St. George's chapel at Windsor, as a place more suited to the dignity of the crown which he had worn. To bestow on his remains their due honour, Henry VII. proposed to build and endow a chapel at Windsor as a mausoleum for them, and to erect therein a monument of appropriate magnificence, the design of which is still preserved in the Cotton Library; and to add to the solemn and pious use of this structure, he intended that it should serve as a sepulchre for himself. To form an ample endowment for this chapel, he obtained from the pope the dissolution of two religious houses, Mottesfont, in Hampshire, and Luffeld, on the borders of the two counties of Buckingham and Northampton*. He also applied to the court of Rome for the canonization of the murdered king, on account of that unremitting piety, those innocent intentions, and domestic virtues which distinguished his character.

While this request was under the consideration of the Roman consistory, the abbot and monks of Westminster presented their claim for the distinction of having the body of that unfortunate, but pious, monarch removed to their church, as it was the place which he, when living, had specially appointed for the place of his burial†. This honour was, however, contested by Chertsea, Windsor, and Westminster; and the contending parties were accordingly heard on their respective claims before the privy council, when, on the third hearing, the king himself being present, the right was, with great solemnity and perfect unanimity, determined in favour of Westminster. His majesty was, therefore, influenced from these circumstances to erect the sumptuous building, which bears his name, on the spot where it now stands. He also obtained fresh grants from the pope respecting the religious houses already mentioned, as well as for the dissolution of

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom XII. p. 562—5.

† *Archives of the Church.*

several others, to form an adequate endowment for the chapel when it should be completed. He likewise procured the necessary license to remove the body of Henry VI. from Windsor to Westminster, when the monastery caused it to be transferred to its church in the year 1501, at the expence of five hundred pounds; but in what part of it the royal remains were deposited is no longer known*. The pope required so large a sum of money for admitting the pious Henry into the calendar of saints, that all solicitation on that subject was suspended; nor was any monument erected in honour of him: the building of the chapel, however, proceeded, and was completed in the manner in which it now presents itself to the admiration of all who behold it.

In a short time after the commencement of this structure†, Henry VII. granted several estates to the monastery for the following purposes:—For the maintenance of three additional monks to serve in this chapel, as well as two additional lay brothers, and three supernumerary students in the university; for distributions at his anniversary and weekly obits; for fees to the lords chancellor and treasurer, the chiefs of the law courts, and the lord mayor, recorder, and sheriffs of London, if present at his anniversary; or, in default of their attendance, to the prisons of the King's Bench and Marshalsea; for the charges of his anniversary to be kept by the two universities, by the cathedrals of London, Canterbury, and Rochester, by the two collegiate churches of Windsor and St. Stephen's Westminster, and thirteen religious houses‡; for wax tapers and torches to be used in

* It is somewhat singular, that of the different historians who might be supposed to give some information on the subject, John Stow alone seems to have known any thing about it; though a circumstance, which, at the time, must have very much attracted the public attention.—*Chron.* p. 424, edit. 1615.

† *Archives of the Church.*

‡ Abingdon, St. Alban's, St. Augustine's at Canterbury, Bermondsey, Charter-house, Christ-Church in London, Fryars-Augustines, Carmelites, Grey-Preachers, Shene, Sion, and New Abbey in the Tower of London.

the chapel; for sermons to be preached in the abbey on Sundays and certain holidays; for twelve almsmen*, a priest to say mass to them, and three old women to attend them; and certain other ceremonial duties, which the Abbot of Westminster was obliged, by a solemn oath, taken in the Chancery Court, some time in the term subsequent to his appointment, as well as under various penalties, to see performed. These estates produced a revenue of more than a thousand marks†, a principal part of which proceeded from certain religious houses dissolved by permission of the pope; as the priory of Luffeld, already mentioned, the college of St. Martin le Grand, the free chapels of Tickhill in Yorkshire, Pleshey in Essex, Uplamborne in Berkshire, and Playdon by Rye in Sussex.

About this time the Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII. had, it seems, determined to become a benefactress to the abbey. She had a license of mortmain for one hundred and fifty pounds per annum‡, and had actually conveyed ninety pounds of it, for an anniversary for herself, for three monks to celebrate mass in this church, and for the payment of the salaries of the professors established by her in the two universities, as well as her Cambridge preacher; but she was persuaded to proceed no further in her design by her confessor, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who urged her to prefer building and endowing colleges in the universities, as a more requisite and essential exertion of zealous charity§.

Henry VII. died April 22, 1509, and left by his will five hundred marks towards completing the west end of the abbey.

In the year 1511, Islip visited the priory of Great Malvern; and again in 1516, when he suspended the prior of that house for negligence in his office.

* These almsmen have been continued through all the several establishments since the dissolution.

† Will of Henry VII.

‡ *Archives of the Church.*

§ Preface to Bishop Fisher's *Sermon on the Death of the Countess of Richmond.*

In the year 1518, the pope's legates, the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeius, being authorized by his holiness to visit all the religious houses, whether exempted or not, gave notice of the day when their intended visitation of this abbey was to take place*. Some writers, however, mention, that Wolsey, being displeased at having a colleague in the commission, waved the execution of it. Nevertheless, Polydore Virgil affirms that Westminster was visited, and with the utmost rigour, in order to terrify others into the purchase of an evasion of it†. But be that as it may, it is very certain, that in 1525, Wolsey actually visited the monastery by his commissary, Doctor Allen, and received one hundred marks for such visitation‡.

In 1531, an exchange of lands took place between the king and the abbey, by which he obtained an hundred acres of land, part of which was formed into St. James's Park, and added much to the situation of Whitehall, which had then become the king's residence. In return, the abbey received the priory of Poughley, in Berkshire, the dissolution of which, among others, had been procured by Cardinal Wolsey, for the purpose of furnishing endowments for the two colleges which he designed to establish at Oxford and Ipswich.

Abbot Islip died May 2, 1532, and was buried in a chapel which he had constructed in the abbey, and still bears his name. His funeral was conducted with great pomp; its ceremonials occupying two entire days§. The Richmond and Lancaster heralds attended, and Lord Windsor was the chief mourner.

Hacket, in his *Life of Archbishop Williams,* gives the following account of Abbot Islip; but its inaccuracies cannot be suffered to remain, when so fair an opportunity offers of correcting them‖:—

* Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 79.—Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 9, 10.

† *Hist.* p. 657. edit. 1570.

‡ Register, or Lease Book, B.

§ MS. account.—Appendix, No. X.

‖ Hacket's *Life of Bishop Williams,* p. 45.

" That wise and holy man was the Lord Abbot over the Benedictine monks, " who professed their vows within those cloisters in the glorious reign of King " Henry VII. The abbot was a privy counsellor, and, for his fidelity and pru- " dence, was one of the executors to the king his master, by his last will and " testament*. The structure of the abbey was left imperfect from the reign of " Henry III. who had been very sumptuous in advancing the workmanship from " the altar to the lower end of the choir. From his death, it had looked for some " to help, and there were none who pitied it. This abbot, a devout servant of " Christ, and of a wakeful conscience, considered the office he bore, how he was " the chief who had that house of God in possession. Therefore he enlarged " the church at his own cost, from the entering in of the choir or thereabout, to " the west gate that looks towards Tuttle-street; and contrived the lodgings with " strength and handsomeness at the south end, which, after the change made in " King Henry VIII.th's reign, received the dean and his retinue. But eternal " fame doth best shine upon his memory in the rising sun, or upon the eastern " part. There this abbot, and John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (the executor " to King Henry joined with him), laid out such sums of money as that king " had appointed for the noble interring of his own body and his queen's, with " the stems of their royal line, and none other. These two, like men of faithful " and large minds, built the chapel, next behind the chapel of Edward the " Confessor, called by King Henry VII.th's name, which nothing can surmount " for cost and curiosity. There they set up his monument in a brazen impale- " ment, which looks like work, not of our moderns, but of Bazaleel†."

* Islip was not one of the executors to Henry VII. as appears by the will. The king, indeed, about ten days before his death, delivered to him five thousand pounds for the purpose of finishing the chapel, so that he may be considered as the treasurer or paymaster of the building; but the Prior of St. Bartholomew was master of the works.

† As to the part of the church west of what had been built by Henry III. it has been already

WILLIAM BOSTON, ALIAS BENSON.

The former of these names he assumed, according to the monkish custom, from the place of his birth, which was Boston, in the county of Lincoln, and retained it, of course, while he was abbot. The other was his family name, which he resumed after the dissolution, when he became dean of the church under its new establishment.

He had been Abbot of Burton upon Trent, though he is erroneously named John in the annals of that monastery*. It is certain that he was not bred a monk of Westminster, as his name does not occur in any of its public or domestic transactions. It is also observable, that no stranger had been abbot of this church since William Humez, who died in 1222, a space of more than three hundred years.

proved, that, in the latter years of the reign of Edward III. something had been done with the money of Cardinal Langham towards taking down the remainder of the old church, and rebuilding it after the model of the choir; that, by the liberality of Richard II. the work proceeded in his time; that Henry V. gave a thousand marks yearly for the same purpose; that Edward IV. his queen, and the young prince his son, were benefactors; that some of the abbey lands were assigned to this use; and that there were annual contributions from all the monks; which had enabled the abbots, who were the directors of the building, to have proceeded so far in it, before Islip's time, as to have the iron work fixed in the west window. What was built of the two western towers before the dissolution, was, indeed, done under his direction, but not at his expence; as the accounts still remaining evidently prove, that the money for that purpose was provided from the abbey lands, and that the contributory supplies proceeded in the same manner as before his election to the abbacy. Islip was, undoubtedly, a very wise, able, and active man, had presided over the abbey more than thirty years, and was the last person, previous to its suppression, who had taken any concern in its buildings. These circumstances, it is not improbable, might have occasioned a traditionary report of his having done the whole; which Hacket, who had been bred a scholar of Westminster, might, without a particular enquiry, be ready to adopt.

* *Annals of Burton*, p. 448.

The precise time of his appointment cannot now be determined; but as it was not till May 12, 1553, a year after Islip's death, that he took the obligatory oath in the Court of Chancery to perform the conditions annexed to the benefaction of Henry VII. which was enjoined to take place in the term immediately subsequent to his admission, it could have been but a short time previous to that act. The mode by which he obtained his preferment is not altogether free from suspicion, as it appears that he immediately assigned three of the best manors belonging to the abbot's portion, for the payment of five hundred pounds to Sir William Paulet, comptroller of the household, and Thomas Cromwell, then keeper of the king's jewels*.

In 1534, the learned, excellent, and amiable Sir Thomas More, when he first became an object of persecution on his refusal to support the king's supremacy, was committed for some days to the custody of Abbot Boston, who is not represented in a very favourable point of view by that great and honest man†. For when Sir Thomas More alledged that his conscience forbad him to deny the supremacy of the pope, the less scrupulous ecclesiastic replied, that his mind misled him; and that since the great council of the realm had determined contrary to his opinion, he ought to submit his conscience to their superior judgment.

In 1536, two exchanges of land took place between the king and the monastery, both of which were confirmed by acts of parliament. The one, of the manors of Hyde, which is now inclosed in Hyde Park; of Neyte, Eyberry, and Toddington; of the advowson of Chelsea rectory; of some lands at Greenwich, and of several meadows and closes near the horse ferry: the other, of Covent-Garden. For these several properties the monastery was remunerated from the priory of Hurley, which had been lately dissolved. For the former it received

* *Archives of the Church.*

† More's Works, p. 1430.

the site of the priory and many of the lands; for the latter, the great wood called Hurley Wood.

Three years after, on January 16, 1539-40, the monastery itself was surrendered by this abbot and twenty-four of the monks*. The lesser religious houses had already been dissolved, and about this time all the greater ones had submitted to the same fate. The yearly value of this monastery at the dissolution was, according to Speed†, £3,977 6*s.* 4½*d.* and £3,471 0*s.* 2½*d.* according to Dugdale‡.

BENEFACTIONS OF HENRY III.

This king gave, by several grants and charters, to the Abbey of Westminster the following lands, privileges, &c.§

Feriam, near Islip, in the county of Oxford, and land at *Warenham*.

Liberty to the abbot to inclose a park in the forest of Windsor, with a warren, to consist of ten acres and a half; and right to eight bucks annually from that forest.

The liberty of holding a fair in Tothull, belonging to the church.

A charter, by which he grants to the abbot and monks the right of amerciaments, with return of writs, and power of imprisonment. By another he confirms the extent of their liberties; and by a third confirms all the privileges and liberties granted by his predecessors and himself to this church.

* Instrument in the Appendix, No. XI.—The abbots and monks were sensible of the danger to which they were exposed; and, having learned by the example of the lesser monasteries that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Several of the abbots, since the breach with Rome, had been named by the court with a view to this event; and, against those who were refractory, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed.

† Flete.

‡ Records of the Tower.—STRYPE.

§ Flete.

But the most remarkable of all his charters, is that which Matthew Paris has given at large in his history; whereby the abbot and convent were empowered to demand copies of the fines and amerciaments levied by the king's judges on their tenants, and entered in the rolls of the courts; while the estreats were not to be returned into the Exchequer, but delivered by the judges to the bailiff of the convent, who was to be present when the fines were set.

The king also gave these ornaments, &c. for the service of the church.

In the twenty-eighth year of his reign he commanded Edward Fitz-Odo, keeper of the works at Westminster, to make a dragon in the manner of a standard or ensign, to be embroidered with gold, with the tongue to appear as continually moving, and the eyes to be formed of sapphires or other stones, which was to be placed in the church against the king's coming thither.

In the same year the queen set up in the feretry of St. Edward the image of the Virgin Mary; and the king ordered Edward Fitz-Odo to place upon her forehead an emerald and a ruby, taken out of two rings which the Bishop of Chichester had left his majesty as a legacy. He also gave the abbot five pounds to maintain a lamp in the same place.

In the thirtieth year of his reign he commanded the keeper of his Exchequer to purchase the most costly mitre that could be found in the city of London, for the use of the abbot; and also a large crown of silver, whereon to place wax candles for the illumination of the church*.

In the thirty-ninth year of his reign he ordered one hundred shillings to be paid half-yearly to the brethren of the guild at Westminster and their successors, who were appointed to ring the great bells there, to be paid out of the Exchequer till that sum was provided to issue from an estate in land. He also gave copes and vestments, with jewels and rich vessels, for the service of the high altar.

* Records of the Tower.—Strype.

BENEFACTORS IN THE REIGN OF HENRY III.

William de Hummez assigned to the monastery a debt of one hundred pounds thirteen shillings and nine-pence.

Richard de Berkyng gave to this church the sum of three hundred marks, and obtained the charter for them. He likewise procured the liberty of disforesting one carucate of land at *Islip**, adjoining the wood called *White Alice, Candida Alicia.* He assigned the church of *Ockham* for his table, and the manor of *Thorp* for the expences of the monastery. He procured a charter from the bishop and chapter of Lincoln of the church of *Aschwell,* or *Ashwell,* which he set apart for the joint expences of himself and his cloister. He defended the church of *Batrichsea,* now *Battersea,* against some invasions attempted by Peter de Rupibus of Winchester. He made a purchase of the castle of *Morton Folet,* one half of the manor of *Langedon,* with the chapel there, and one half of the forest looking towards the manor of Morton: these he bought of Philip Folet, son of Agnes, sister of Robert Folet, and another sister, who were daughters and coheiresses of Reginald Folet. He procured also for his church one half of the manor of *Chadleigh,* and the liberty to disforest two carucates of the manor of *Morton.* He obtained the church of *Strengestham,* with the payment of seven shillings per annum, with other dues; and of twenty-four shillings in *Pendock,* with two tenements, whose rent was to be paid to the sacristan of *Westminster.* He built the village of *New Morton* in Gloucestershire, and assigned the income of it to this church for the celebration of his anniversary. He purchased twelve carucates of meadow land in *Todeham* of Ralph de Poher; and one carucate in *Whathampsted* he recovered from Robert Cavil; one from Godfrey de Chamberlenge, and the rent of twenty acres and one carucate from Godfrey Noel; three mills and eight shillings rent in *Pershore* from Richard de Bingham; and an

* As much land as may be ploughed in a year with one plough.

island from Lawrence Fitzwilliam, with a mill and his deed, together with a deed of warranty from William de Herlane, that island being of his fee, and at the time paid six marks, but has since been discharged from all payments. He enlarged the rent of the manor of Periford, or Pyrford, and increased its value by disforesting a part of it. Richard de Berkyng concluded his numerous benefactions by giving the land of *Samplins* beyond *Old Firman*, and discharged the abbot from a payment of ten pounds, which the sheriffs of Essex and Hereford demanded annually for view of frank pledge, and for suits of the tenants in those counties*.

Edward I. by his great charter, confirmed the grants of his predecessors; and by two other charters, the liberties of this church and its lands. He also confirmed the grant of his father, that the abbot's property should, after his death, go to the monastery. He also left this church, according to Stow, one hundred pounds per annum†. He also gave twelve manors, lordships, and hamlets to Walter, then Abbot of Westminster, and his successors for ever, to keep yearly obits for his queen Eleanor, who was buried with great magnificence in this church, and for money to be given to the poor for attending at the solemnization of the same‡.

In the year 1296, this king brought the stone from Scotland to which the popular superstition of the Scots paid such high veneration, and whereon their kings were seated when they received the rite of inauguration; and presented it, with the Scottish regalia, to the Church of Westminster, where it still remains§.

* Dart from Flete.

† Stow, *Chron. and Survey.*

‡ Weever's *Funeral Monuments.*

§ The benefactions of this prince are very small when compared with those of several of his predecessors; but when his activity in restraining the ecclesiastical usurpations is considered, and that the statute of mortmain originated in his reign, which gave such a check to the rapacity of the church of Rome, it would be the indulgence of an idle expectation to look for the donations of bigotry and superstition from him.

BENEFACTIONS IN, AND POSTERIOR TO, THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.

Abbot Wenlock gave the manor of *Deerhurst* and *Hardwyke*, in the county of Gloucester, with the hamlets of *Waleton*, *Apperfield*, *Trynly Cors*, and *Hawtegge*, and a fourth of the hundred of *Deerhurst*. These he purchased of William de Walesdun, who had held them of the monastery in fee from the time of Abbot Gervase at the annual rent of thirty-four pounds.

Several houses in *King-street*, Westminster, bought of Stephen Cornhull, which he advanced in rent to sixty-six shillings and eight-pence per annum.

The wood of *Bradbegge*, in the manor of *Cranfield*, which manor had long been in the possession of the abbot and monks of Westminster.

He also gave to the monastery at his death all his silver vessels, as dishes, salts, &c. weighing fifty pounds.

In consequence of the fire which took place in the abbey during the time of Wenlock, he and the monks solicicited Pope Clement XI. in which application they were supported by the king, to grant them the churches of *Keldon* and *Sabridgeworth* towards repairing it; when his holiness assented to the object of their solicitation.

Edward II. on his coronation, offered two images of a pilgrim and St. Edward, and afterwards confirmed various charters and grants of his royal predecessors; and, in particular, the great charter of Henry III. and his father Edward I.

Edward III. does not appear to have done any thing for this church, but the confirming the abbot's lands to it, and presenting the head of St. Benedict to place among its relics*.

In his time Abbot Curtlyngton rebuilt the manor-house at *Islip*, in the county of Oxford, and that of *Sutton*, in the county of Gloucester.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*.

In the same reign Abbot Henly presented the church with a rich and curious pastoral staff of silver, on which was finely chased the salutation of the Virgin Mary, with angels, &c.

Simon de Langham, who was some time abbot of this church, was one of its greatest benefactors in this reign.

He discharged the church from a debt of two thousand eight hundred marks. He gave four hundred pounds to rebuild the nave of the church where Thomas his father was buried. He presented the abbey with books to the value of eight hundred and thirty pounds fifteen shillings and ten-pence; vestments to the value of four hundred and thirty-seven pounds three shillings and four-pence; and silver vessels, of various kinds, to the amount of three thousand nine hundred and fifty-four pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence*. After his elevation to the cardinalate, he gave to the monastery two thousand marks, to find two chauntry priests, for ever, to perform the usual office for the souls of him and his parents, for which he secured the manor of *Bekeswell*, and a mill at *Mulesham* in Essex, which Flete estimates at sixteen pounds per annum.

Adam de Hull gave the church of *Stevenage*.

Abbot Litlington gave the manor of *Burlingham*, in the county of Worcester, which one John Sapy then held, in fee farm rent, at eleven pounds per annum. He likewise built the hall in the abbey-house, and the room which received the name of the Jerusalem chamber, together with the south and west cloisters, which he paved with stone; he also added the kitchen, buttery, a house for the sacristan, and the cellarer's office, with the tower there, and a water-mill of stone. He gave a mitre, enriched with pearls, of the value of one hundred marks; two silver gilded chalices, and a pastoral staff, which cost eighteen pounds. For the exclusive service of the refectory, he gave forty-eight dishes, two chargers, and twenty-

* Godwin computes the value of this gift at two thousand seven hundred pounds.—*De Præsul. Angl.*

four salts, weighing one hundred and four pounds. For general use, seven salts and two chalices, which weighed ten pounds. To the abbot his successor, seven salts, twenty-four dishes, and four chargers of silver, weighing sixty-four pounds; two cups for wine, weighing eight pounds; one cup of silver, with a foot, of the value of one hundred shillings; seven silver plates, weighing eighteen pounds; two vessels for washing feet, with two water vessels of silver, weighing ten pounds; and two small vessels for the feet of silver, weighing eighteen pounds. To his chapel he presented vestments, chalices, incense-pots, cruets, bells, vessels for washing feet, and pixes, all of silver gilded*.

Abbot Kirton built the screen of *St. Andrew's chapel*, curiously gilded and adorned with arms of the nobility.

Abbot Esteney erected two *windows of the south isle*, and the *great west window*; together with the screen of the chapel of *St. John* the Evangelist, near which he is buried.

Abbot Islip built the chapel which now bears his name, and wherein he lies interred. He is said also to have rebuilt the abbot's house and offices of the monastery, as well as to have decorated the exterior parts of the church with statues of the kings who had been benefactors; which, or the greater part of them, were taken down and broken to pieces by the republican fanatics during Cromwell's usurpation†.

There appears to have been but few royal benefactions to this monastery, and those of small consideration, from the time of Edward III. to that of Henry VII. except those of Henry V. who, in addition to his munificent donations during his life, ordered, by his will, that the manor of *Ledcomb Regis*, in Berkshire, and *Offord*, in Clughuy hundred in the county of Huntingdon, should be given to this church to pray for the soul of his father Henry IV.

* See p. 199.

† See p. 224.

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

WESTMINSTER A BISHOP'S SEE.

HENRY VIII. when he caused the monasteries to be dissolved, declared his determination to restore some of them under a new character, and on different foundations: when, therefore, the superior stateliness and magnificence of Westminster Abbey are considered, that it was the place where he himself, as well as all the kings since the Conquest, had been crowned; that it was the mausoleum of so many of his royal predecessors, whose splendid tombs adorned and dignified it; and that his father was interred in the superb and beautiful part of it, which was erected by himself for that consecrated purpose, it was a natural expectation that this church would be one, if not the first, of those which he had destined to arise, as it were, from the overwhelming dissolution, in a better form and on a superior establishment. The king accordingly fulfilled his intention by giving to Westminster Abbey a new foundation; but not at first for a dean and prebendaries, as Mr. Camden* has affirmed, as well as others, apparently on his authority; there being no charters or documents of any kind that support the opinion of there having been such a settlement. On the contrary, it is a more justifiable conjecture, that Henry had, previous to its dissolution, designed this monastery to be one of his new bishoprics. But be that as it may, on the 17th of December in the same year, 1540, he erected it by letters patent into a cathedral,

* *Reges et Reginæ*, &c.

with an establishment to consist of a bishop, a dean, and twelve prebendaries*. Thomas Thirlby, then dean of the king's chapel, was appointed the bishop, with the entire county of Middlesex, except the village of Fulham, for his diocese. The late abbot, with the reassumed name of Benson, was appointed the dean; the prior and five of the monks were made prebendaries, four of the monks became minor canons, and four were sent as students to the two universities. The rest of the monastic confraternity were dismissed from their cloister with pensions of ten, eight, and six pounds, and five marks†.

In a very short time after the foundation, the king endowed the bishopric‡; when he granted the bishop the late abbot's house for a palace, and a revenue, which appears to have been wholly taken from the estate of the dissolved monastery, and, according to Strype, was of the annual value of eight hundred and four pounds§; though it seems from the Archives, which may be considered as the better authority, to have been no more than five hundred and eighty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence. The patent for the endowment of the dean and chapter was not granted till the 5th of August, 1542, when lands were assigned for this purpose from the estate of the late monastery, to the annual amount of two thousand one hundred and sixty-four pounds, as well as from those of Evesham and Pershore in Worcestershire, Merton in Surrey, Newstede in Nottinghamshire, Mountgrace in Yorkshire, Bardeney, Haverholme, and Grymsby, both nuns and Austin friars, in Lincolnshire, to the yearly value of four hundred and thirty-four pounds. By this establishment the choir was formed on a more enlarged scale

* Register Book, C. fol. 76, gives an account of the lands restored to the church about this time.—See also Henry VIII.th's Charter, 1542.

† Pension Books, Augmentation Office.

‡ *Archives of the Church.*

§ His *Memorials*, vol. I. app. 276.

than it is at present. The chapter was also charged with the annual payment of four hundred pounds to ten readers or professors in divinity, law, physic, Hebrew and Greek, five in each of the universities; and likewise with the stipends of twenty students in those places, amounting to one hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence. In other respects, particularly in the establishment of two masters and forty grammar scholars, it was the same as the present foundation of Queen Elizabeth.

In his *History of Croyland Abbey*, Ingulphus not only mentions that there was a school existing in this place in the time of Edward the Confessor, but that he himself received his education there; and that he was sometimes examined, and had money given him, by the queen, when, in his way from school, he called at the king's palace, where his father filled an employment*.

William Fitz-Stephens, in his *Life of Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of Canterbury, describing London, observes, that the three chief churches in the metropolis had schools of great note attached to them†, which Stow‡ represents as being St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, and St. Peter's, Cornhill. But it does not appear that Westminster was designed to be included in that description of London; and other authorities have determined, that the two churches thus distinguished in common with St. Paul's, were those of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield and St. Anthony.

From the latter part of the reign of Edward III. to the dissolution of the abbey§, a salary was paid by the almoner of the monastery to a schoolmaster, who, in the accounts of that officer, as *magister scholarium, pro eruditione puerorum*

* P. 62 and 73.

† P. 4.

‡ P. 63, edit. 1633.

§ *Archives of the Church.*

grammaticorum, is evidently distinguished from the person appointed to teach singing to the children of the choir.

Widmore states, that in the Archives of the Church there is a draught of an instrument for this establishment of Henry VIII. by which it appears, that a school was settled here by him under the same form and regulations as it now bears*. Canterbury and Worcester derived the same advantages, as well as the greater part, if not all, of those places where the king had converted a monastic establishment into that of a dean and chapter. Queen Elizabeth, therefore, appears to have done little, if any thing, more than continue her father's appointment. That princess, indeed, caused a statute to be made for the purpose of regulating the manner in which scholars were to be elected upon the foundation in this school, and from thence to colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, as well as the number to be removed annually to the universities†. The deans of Christ Church, Oxford, and the masters of Trinity College, Cambridge, appear to have successively combated this part of the order for a considerable time, from some presumed advantages which would result to their respective colleges by the alteration they proposed; but they were obliged, at length, to submit; it being finally determined, that no innovation should take place against the express directions of the founders‡.

In the year 1544 the church consented to give up lands to the annual amount of one hundred and sixty-seven pounds, to be discharged from paying the

* The draught of the charter is still extant; but the draught for the school is not now to be found.

† Anno 1561.

‡ The names of those venerable persons who have been the masters of this school from its foundation, and under whose care so many men have been formed, to adorn the church and state, and extend the realms of literature and science, will be found, in regular succession, in the Appendix, No. XVII.

stipends of the king's students; and, in 1546, additional estates of the yearly value of four hundred pounds, to be freed from the salaries of the professors. A part of the latter was given to Trinity College, Cambridge, and the rest to Christ Church, Oxford*.

Dean Benson died in September, 1549. His death is said to have been occasioned from extreme vexation at having granted away, in long leases, so much of the lands of the church to Lord Seymour and other persons, for the use of the protector, the Duke of Somerset, though it was done with a political view to prevent its suppression. His great object seems to have been the possession and enjoyment of a large income; and that such a diminution of it should agitate his spirits and disturb his comfort, is by no means inconsistent with the tenor of his character†.

He was buried at the entrance of the vestry, and his gravestone appears to be still there; but its inscription has long since been obliterated.

RICHARD COX.

He was installed dean of this church October 22, 1549. He had been originally a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and after some time succeeded to a fellowship in Cardinal Wolsey's college in Oxford. He then successively became master of Eton College, one of the preceptors to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VI. archdeacon of Ely, and a prebendary of that church, as also of Lincoln and the chapel royal of Windsor, dean of Oseney near Oxford, and of Christ Church in that university. From the latter dignity he was advanced to the deanery of Westminster. He also enjoyed, at the time of his instalment, the office of high almoner to the king.

* *Archives of the Church.*

† Heylyn's *History of the Reformation.*

On the 29th of March, 1550, Bishop Thirlby surrendered his bishopric, which was then suppressed, and the diocese reunited to that of London*. At this time there was an exchange of lands with Ridley, who had been lately promoted to the metropolitan see†. That prelate had also the possession given him of the convicts' prison, a building situate between the west end of the abbey and the gate-house. The bishop's palace, which had been the abbot's house previous to the dissolution, was granted to the Lord Wentworth‡. A small parcel of lands was sold also to the late Bishop Thirlby§. Several were also granted to a Sir Thomas Wroth and others‖, to be applied, as it was said, to the repairs of the cathedral of St. Paul**. Thirlby is accused by Camden, and with apparent justice, of having greatly impoverished his church by the long leases which he granted of the estates belonging to it††.

* Thirlby was joined with Bonner in the commission to degrade Cranmer previous to the execution of that prelate, but much against his will. On the dissolution of the bishopric of Westminster, he was promoted to that of Ely, in which see he continued till 1559, when he was excluded for refusing to take the oath of supremacy to Queen Elizabeth. After his deprivation, he enjoyed, with Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, the kind protection and christian hospitality of Archbishop Parker, at Lambeth palace.—BURNET's *History of the Reformation*, vol. II. p. 332, 396. For a more particular character of Thirlby, see Burnet, vol. I. p. 268.

† Strype's *Mem.* vol. II. p. 217.

‡ This nobleman had also a beneficial grant out of the estates of the Bishop of London.

§ Strype's *Mem.* vol. II. p. 235.

‖ Ibid. p. 247.

** This grant and the application of it is said to have given rise to the proverbial expression of *robbing Peter to pay Paul.*

†† See the First Chapter Book.

WESTMINSTER A CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

When the bishopric of Westminster was dissolved, the diocese which had been assigned to it, consisting of the county of Middlesex, was restored to the see of London; at the same time most, if not all, the exempted places in this as well as other parts of the diocese, in which Westminster was included, were placed under the jurisdiction of its bishop. As this suppression took place by the king's letters patent, and no notice whatever was taken in them of the dean and chapter (who had been established by Henry VIII. in the same charter with the bishopric), either as not involved in the suppression, or as annexed to the see of London, a doubt naturally arose concerning the legal nature of their canonical condition; and this doubtful circumstance occasioned an act of parliament to be passed, which constituted this church a cathedral in that diocese*.

In May 1553, the commissioners appointed to collect ecclesiastical property carried away all the plate and furniture of this church, except a silver pot, two gilt cups with covers, three hearse-cloths, twelve cushions, one carpet, eight stall-cloths for the choir, three pulpit-cloths, a small carpet for the dean's stall, and two table-cloths†. It seems to have been a very extraordinary, as well as unpardonable, act at this time, when no public necessity appears to have required it,

* According to Dart (though without reference to any authority, a practice not unusual with that negligent writer), while this church continued to be a cathedral, the dean and prebendaries occupied their respective houses, and were enjoined residences for twenty-one days during three quarters of a year, and twenty-four days in the fourth. The dean, for every day that he was absent, paid ten shillings; if he neglected his residence altogether, he had no more than his established stipend, which was forty pounds per annum. A prebendary, for every day of non-attendance, paid one shilling; and if wholly absent from his duty, he received no more than his regular stipend, which was ten pounds.

† First Chapter Book, fol. 299.

to deprive such a church of the utensils and furniture which were so necessary to its figure and character; nor is it easy to reconcile it to the spirit of this reign, and the virtues of the sovereign, that such a profane rapacity and sacrilegious plunder should have been permitted*.

Edward VI. died July 6, 1553, and Cox, then Dean of Westminster, soon experienced a very material change in his situation from that lamentable event; for, on the 5th of the following August, he was committed to prison: his confinement, however, was but short, as he was released on the 19th of the same month. The occasion of this severe treatment is said to have been an accusation brought against him for some treasonable act in the last rebellion†; but of which, it may be supposed from the short period of his imprisonment, he was found to be innocent. He continued to act as dean for about a week after his liberation, but on the 18th of the following month a successor was installed. Cox soon after went abroad, and settled at Strasburgh. There was at that time an English congregation at Frankfort, as well as at the former place, where Knox was employing his utmost endeavours to set aside the liturgy of Edward VI. in favour of the Geneva form. Cox accordingly proceeded thither, and, by his spirited exertions, restored conformity. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he returned to England, and was appointed one of the learned persons selected to dispute with the Papists. He was afterwards advanced to the bishopric of Ely, in which station

* It had occasionally happened, that, on extraordinary occasions, and in very pressing emergencies, the church as well as the religious houses piously consented to dispose of their treasures. In times of great dearth, bishops are said to have sold their plate to relieve the extreme distress of the poor. In the plague which raged in 1449, the Monastery of Westminster sold jewels and other articles to the value of more than three hundred pounds. Most of the religious also parted with their chalices to pay the ransom of Richard I.

† Lord Burghley's papers, p. 132.

he conducted himself in a most exemplary manner, and died in the year 1581. He assisted in forming the first liturgy, and in the review of it in 1559. He had also a considerable share in the Bishops' Bible*.

HUGH WESTON.

He had been fellow and rector of Lincoln College, as well as the Margaret professor of divinity in the university of Oxford, and was one of the queen's chaplains when he succeeded to the deanery of this church. He was installed September 8, 1553†.

In the month of March following, nine of the prebendaries were removed, while the three who remained may be supposed to have followed the course and change of the times. Some of them were dismissed in consequence of their having fled to the continent, as Grindal and Nowell‡; and others for having married. Their places were filled, as might be expected, with persons of the Romish faith, among whom was Alonzo de Salinas, a Spaniard, but who had been for several years a resident in England§.

In the year 1556, this church was restored to its monastic character. The

* There was more plunder of the church by the protector, as well as by the dean, prebendaries, and servants, during the time of Cox, than at any other. In the First Chapter Book there are leases for fifty, eighty, ninety, and ninety-nine years.

† Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. II. p. 281, 283.

‡ Nowell had been returned to represent one of the *Looes* in Cornwall in the first parliament of this reign, but was not allowed to sit, as being in holy orders, and, therefore, belonging to the House of Convocation.

§ Alonzo de Salinas had a bond from Feckenham of thirty pounds, dated 1556, which is the date of that abbot's introduction by Queen Mary. He probably gave the bond to procure money for the re-establishment of the monastery, as it binds himself, his successors, and the house, or any other person to *whomsoever* the said monastery should come.

chapter, with great reluctance, submitted to the change, and the dean for some time refused his assent; but as it seemed to be a determined object of the queen, he was at length induced to yield an unwilling compliance. The prebendaries were assigned certain pensions, and Weston was removed to the deanery of Windsor: he was, however, deprived of it in the course of the following year by Cardinal Pole, who was become the pope's legate to the court of Mary. The cause of his dismission is said to have been the crime of adultery*. He appealed, however, to the pope; but when he was preparing to go to Rome to prosecute his suit, he was committed to the Tower, where he continued till the death of the queen; when, in consequence of his ill state of health, he was allowed to reside with a friend whose house was in Fleet-street, where he died in a few days after his removal. His remains were interred in the church of the Savoy.

He possessed a bold, active character, and had the reputation of being a man of learning, which indeed appears from his having been so much employed in the early part of Mary's reign. He was chosen prolocutor in the first convocation after her accession, and was frequently ordered by the court to preach in the most public places. He was also appointed to attend several of the state criminals on the scaffold, among whom were the Duke of Suffolk and Sir Thomas Wyatt. He was likewise called upon to be moderator in the disputation at Oxford between Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, and the most distinguished divines of the Romish church in the two universities. These were no common distinctions; but his serious and prolonged hesitation to gratify the queen by the surrender of his deanery, occasioned his loss of the royal favour; while his immoral life had disgusted and excited the enmity of Cardinal Pole. The only printed work of Weston, which is now known, is the speech he made on being chosen prolocutor of the convocation.

* Weston is represented by Burnet to have been a notorious drunkard.—*History of the Reformation*, p. 284.

WESTMINSTER RE-ESTABLISHED AS A MONASTERY.

In this restoration of the abbey to its original monastic character, the papal authority was not only allowed to interpose, but to predominate; and it appears to have been by a licence proceeding from the pope's legate, that the chapter held itself authorised to resign its estates to the queen, in order to furnish a revenue adequate to the support of the resettled foundation. On this surrender being made, Cardinal Pole, who had been appointed to the legatine office, gave the new abbot possession, and assumed the right of forming regulations for his conduct, as well as that of the monks in the respective offices to which they were named: in several particulars they differed from those which had been observed in the former state of the monastery. It was now settled, that the abbots were not to retain their office during life, as under the old establishment, but for the limited term of three years; neither was there to be a *congé d'elire* previous to the election; nor was the royal assent necessary to confirm it.

JOHN FECKENHAM.

On the monastic re-establishment of the Church of Westminster, Feckenham was appointed abbot. He took his name, after the monkish custom, from the place of his birth, which was in or near Feckenham Forest, in the county of Worcester, his proper surname being Howman. After pursuing his studies at Oxford, he became a monk of Evesham; and, on the surrender of that monastery, November 17, 1539, he was appointed chaplain to Bell, Bishop of Worcester, on whose resignation, if not previous to it, he was received by Bonner, Bishop of London, in the same character; in which capacity he continued till his patron's deprivation in the year 1549.

In consequence of his active opposition to the Reformation, and refusing to administer the sacraments according to the new liturgy, he was committed to the Tower*, where he remained till the accession of Queen Mary, who not only ordered that he should be released from his confinement, but was pleased to appoint him one of her chaplains. He was in a short time after advanced to the deanery of St. Paul's, in which he succeeded Dr. Cox, and was removed from that preferment to the abbacy of Westminster. He brought with him, November 21, 1556, fourteen monks, four of whom had formerly belonged to Glastonbury†.

Feckenham no sooner entered upon his new office than he began to display the zeal of renovation. He repaired the shrine of the Confessor in the manner in which it now appears. He also provided a paschal candle, which weighed three hundred pounds; the master and wardens of the wax-chandlers company being in attendance to direct the preparation of it. The privilege of sanctuary was rigidly maintained, and processions were frequent and sumptuous.

On the 31st of May, 1557, Lord Wentworth resigned the episcopal palace, which was the former residence of the abbots, and had been granted to his father by Edward VI. on the suppression of the bishopric of Westminster,

* Reyner's *Apostolatus Benedict.* tract. I. p. 233.

† The monks of Glastonbury, in a petition to the Lord Chamberlain, in the reign of Queen Mary, ask only for their house and the site of it, trusting that their own labours and the disposition of the neighbouring country, would enable them to repair the monastery; but for the residue of their lands, &c. they were willing to pay the accustomed rent: and they add, with as much boldness as truth, "If there had ever been any flagitious deed punished by God since the creation of the world, "in our opinion, the overthrow of Glastonbury may be compared to the same; not surrendered as "others, but extorted, the abbot preposterously put to death, and two of his innocent and virtuous "monks with him."—BURNET's *Collection*, p. 306.

for which he received in exchange from the queen the manor of Canonbury, in Middlesex*.

Queen Mary died November 17, 1558, and the first parliament of Queen Elizabeth gave her all the religious houses which had been erected or restored by her royal sister, in their actual condition on the first day of the preceding October, with an express exception for the leases regularly made by the abbot and monks of Westminster after that date. In pursuance of this act of parliament, the abbot and monks were removed from Westminster July 12, 1559. The number of these monks does not appear to be any where recorded; but Widmore mentions that one of them, named Robert, or Sigebert, Buckley, had survived the second dissolution of the monastery fifty years, he being alive in the year 1609.

Feckenham, though he had been chaplain to Bishop Bonner, and was firm in his religious principles, cannot be charged with the spirit of persecution; on the contrary, he seems to have acted on various occasions with a most laudable moderation. It was that amiable and truly christian spirit that urged him, as is generally admitted, to use his influence with Queen Mary in favour of the Princess Elizabeth. It is even mentioned by some writers, that he saved her life, by his remonstrances with the royal bigot, when her death was meditated. But whatever his services were, Elizabeth was not forgetful of them, and would have rewarded him with a high rank in the church: it has been said, that she even offered the archbishopric of Canterbury, if he would have conformed to the Protestant faith; which he firmly, and, as it appears, conscientiously, refused.

In the first parliament of Queen Elizabeth he was the only abbot who took his seat; when he gave a most decided opposition to all the measures brought forward

* It has been doubted whether it is the place now called Canbury or Cannonbury House near Islington, or Canons near Edgeware, the well-known estate of the Duke of Chandois.—Norden's *Survey of Middlesex*.

in favour of the Reformation. He in particular made a very laboured speech against the bill to establish the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown*. This opposition caused his committal to the Tower, where he wrote against the oath of supremacy; and his tract on that subject is printed in Reyner. From that prison he was removed to the custody of the Bishop of Winchester, where he appears to have been treated with courtesy and kindness. It appears, however, that he was again sent to the Tower, and from thence to the Marshalsea, where he was indulged with a greater degree of liberty. After remaining for some time in the latter prison, he was released from confinement, and resided in Holbourn, where he is said to have built an aqueduct. In consequence, however, of some attempts being made, or imagined, on the queen's life, and the restless, unquiet spirit of many of the Papists, he was, with Dr. Oxenbridge, Dr. Young, and several others, confined a prisoner in Wisbich castle, in the county of Cambridge. There he passed the time of his imprisonment in great piety and acts of devotion, and there he died in 1585, being twenty-six years after his abdication. He is supposed to have been buried in Wisbich church.

Feckenham was held in high consideration during the reign of Queen Mary, and had been much employed in disputing with the Protestant divines, as well as in preaching on public occasions†. The Papists have loudly complained, and, as it appears, with too much truth, of the hard usage which he received from the Protestants, to whom, when he possessed the power, he had done many kind offices. Camden reports him to have been a learned and good man, that he lived a long time, was very charitable to the poor, and always solicited the minds of

* This speech is published, from the Harleian manuscripts, in Malcolm's *History of London;* there is also an extract of it in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. II. p. 393.

† He disputed, in 1559, against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford.—Wood's *Fast. Oxon.* vol. I. p. 714.

his adversaries to good-will. Burnet also represents him as endued with generosity and benevolence*. An account of his writings may be seen in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*†.

WESTMINSTER A COLLEGIATE CHURCH.

On the resuppression of the monastery, Queen Elizabeth established a new foundation in the form of a collegiate church, which it still retains, and endowed it with all the lands which were possessed by the late abbot and monks.

This foundation was in a great measure the same as that of Henry VIII.‡ It consisted of a dean and the same number of prebendaries, with an upper and under master, and the same number of scholars. The choir alone seems to have undergone some alteration by a diminution of the members who had before composed it. The charter bears date the 21st of May, 1560; and, on the 21st of June, the commission was issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Dean of St. Paul's, to give the dean and prebendaries possession. On the 30th of the same month they were installed.

WILLIAM BILL

Was appointed the first dean on the collegiate establishment. He was born at Ashwell, in the county of Hertford§, and had received his education at St.

* Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. II. p. 397.—His character is also given in the *Magna Britannia*, vol. VI. p. 263.

† Vol. I. col. 221, edit. 1721.

‡ Heylyn, in his *History of the Reformation*, has asserted, that the queen, having selected the best of these estates for herself, conferred the rest upon the college: but that assertion is altogether without foundation, and can only have proceeded from some erroneous tradition, or an unreflecting conjecture, that because she had made certain reservations to herself out of the church lands, she had acted in the same manner with those of the Church of Westminster.

§ Ashwell had been one of the possessions of the Church of Westminster, and Bill was pro-

John's College, in Cambridge, of which he was elected fellow in the year 1522-3. In 1542, he was appointed Greek professor in that university; in 1546, he was advanced to be the head of his college; and, in 1551, he was removed to the same dignity in Trinity College. On the accession of Queen Mary he was dismissed from the latter situation, but restored to it when Elizabeth succeeded to the crown. He was also made principal almoner to her majesty, and, at short intervals, Provost of Eton and Dean of Westminster, both of which preferments he held, together with the mastership of Trinity College.

He did not, however, long enjoy these eminent promotions, as he died July 15, 1561; and consequently had little or no opportunity of rendering any important service to his church. It must not, however, be unnoticed, that he drew up statutes for its regulation, and by his will bequeathed some plate to the college, as well as furniture for the beds of the scholars. His character is displayed in the epitaph on his tomb in the chapel of St. Bennet. It is written with the feeling of friendship, and there is no reason to suppose that it does not contain the language of truth.

Billus et ipse bonus fuit et virtutis amator,
Et coluit doctos, doctus et ipse fuit.
Officii custos erat, atque magister honesti,
Et bene perfecit multa, loquendo parum.
Patria prudentem, fidum regina ministrum
Perdidit, et patrem pauper abesse gemit.
Et tria tale caput collegia mæsta reliquit,
Quale diu rursus non habitura puto.
Aut ego dilexi nimium cum viveret illum,
Aut patriæ magno concidit ipse malo.

bably a tenant's son; and thus, in some measure, connected with the church, as many of the monks had been.

The following inscription is on the verge of the tomb:—" Hic jacet Guliel. " Bill, sacræ theologiæ doctor, decanus Westmonasterii primarius, collegii Eto- " nensis, collegii Trinitatis apud Cantabrigiam præfectus, et serenissimæ reginæ " Elizabethæ summus eleemosynarius. Obiit 15 Julii, anno salutis MDLXI.

GABRIEL GOODMAN

Had been educated, as well as his predecessor Dean Bill, at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was appointed a prebendary of this church on its first establishment in 1560, on the recommendation of Cecil, then secretary of state, to whom he was domestic chaplain, as well as the tutor of his children; nor is it improbable that the same friendship and protection procured him the deanery, to which he was promoted September 23, 1561.

In the year 1566, a bill was brought into the House of Commons to annihilate sanctuaries in cases of debt, when the chapter of Westminster presented a petition in behalf of the privilege of sanctuary so long attached to their church, and were heard by their council in support of it at the bar of the house. The two advocates employed on this occasion were Ford, an eminent civilian, and Plowden, a name well known to every English lawyer. The dean was also allowed to address the house in behalf of the privileges of his church, and the bill was thrown out. In Strype's *Annals of the Reformation* may be seen a brief account of the hearing, as well as minutes of the pleadings, in support of the sanctuary*. But whatever arguments might be adduced from law or usage in favour of or against this privilege, the interests of the abbey were involved in its maintenance. It seems that this power of sanctuary had occasioned the houses within its limits to let at very high rents, and they had been rated accordingly in the estimate for support-

* Lib. I. p. 528.

ing the establishment formed by Henry VIII.; so that the revenue of the college would have felt a very sensible loss by the proposed suppression*.

In the year 1570, a theft was committed in the church, and the monument of Henry VII. was deprived of several of its ornaments; but the thief, whose name was Raymond, did not escape prosecution.

To avoid the ravages of the plague, which in these times frequently visited the metropolis, Goodman, who also held the prebend of Chiswick, obtained the privilege for his church of being the tenant in perpetuity of its estate; that it might be a place of refuge, from any pestilential or epidemic disease, for the chapter, the masters of the school, and the scholars on the foundation†.

In the year 1571, the chapel of St. Catherine, or of the Infirmary, in the little cloisters, was taken down, though the door is still standing. Its first erection was in the time of Edward the Confessor, and had been rebuilt some time after the year 1300. It was used on public occasions, and was the scene of that remarkable contest, which took place in 1175, between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York relative to precedence, and the disputed honour of sitting on the right hand of the pope's legate‡.

In the year 1585, an act was passed for the municipal government of Westminster, which divided it into twelve wards, and appointed twelve burgesses, with an equal number of assistants for their superintendence. In this statute a due attention was paid to the interests and character of the chapter of this church

* All sanctuaries were, however, abolished in the 21st of James I.

† It is in the time of Goodman that the Chapter Book first takes notice of the school. He seems to have paid great attention to it in every respect. He brought the scholars into one spacious chamber, and regulated the commons. He also accommodated the masters; and in his time the ruinous leases of Benson, Cox, and Weston no longer occur in the Chapter Book.

‡ See p. 115.

as lords of the manor, by giving it the power of appointing the burgesses, and allowing the exemption of the precinct and sanctuary.

Little more seems to have occurred during the long period in which Goodman presided over this college, which he seems to have done with great discretion, and without any serious interruption of his tranquillity. He frequently endeavoured to obtain the royal assent to the statutes prepared by Dean Bill. He had also, as it has been already mentioned, some difference with the deans of Christ Church and the masters of Trinity College, respecting the number of scholars to be elected from this school*. It may also be reasonably supposed that he influenced Cecil, then lord high treasurer to Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1594, to give a perpetual annuity of twenty marks, to be distributed among the scholars elected from hence to the two universities†.

The dean possessed, and he well deserved it, the character of a wise, learned, benevolent, and pious man. He was held in high estimation by the two archbishops, Parker and Whitgift, and was zealously recommended by those eminent prelates to be advanced to the mitre; to the bishopric of Norwich in 1574, and to the sees of Worcester, Chichester, and Rochester in 1584. Their endeavours, however, for his advancement were unsuccessful; but the cause of their failure does not appear in any contemporary writer, or subsequent history. In the year 1590, he founded and endowed an hospital and a school at Ruthin, in Denbighshire, the place of his nativity; and ordered, by his last will and testament, that the nomination of the warden should be vested in the dean and chapter of Westminster.

He died June 17, 1601, and was buried in the chapel of St. Bennet. His

* See p. 236.

† Strype's *Life of Parker.*

effigy, in a kneeling posture, is affixed to the south wall, and beneath it is the following inscription:—

" D. O. M.

" Gabriel Goodman, sacræ theologiæ doctor, decanus hujus ecclesiæ quintus, " cui cum summa laude XL. annos præfuisset, et Ruthiniæ in comitatu Denbigh- " ensi, ubi natus, hospitalem fundasset, scholamque instituisset, vitæ sanctimoniâ " Deo bonisque charus, in cœlestem patriam pie emigravit, 17 Junii, anno salutis " MDCI. æt. suæ LXXIII."

LANCELOT ANDREWS.

This eminent man had been preferred to a prebendal stall in the church of Westminster, March 23, 1597; and on July 4, 1601, he was advanced, on the death of Dr. Goodman, to the deanery of it. His admirable qualities, profound erudition, commanding eloquence, controversial acuteness, unfeigned piety, and extensive benevolence, as well as the various preferments to which he had been successively advanced, are stated at large by the biographical writers. He was dean of this church but four years, and, during that short period, he had no particular opportunity of distinguishing his regard for it; but the account given of him in that character is not without its interest, and proves the admirable disposition of his heart, as well as the general tenor of his conduct. Buckeridge, then Bishop of Rochester, in the funeral sermon which he preached on the death of Andrews, after observing, that all the places to which he had been preferred received considerable advantage from his occupancy of them, proceeds to mention, that he made considerable reparations in the lodgings of his deanery of Westminster*.

* Printed at the end of the sermon.

It is related by Hacket, in his *Life of Bishop Williams,* and who may be supposed to be familiar with the subject*, that Dean Andrews paid an anxious attention to the improvement of the scholars; that he often supplied the place of the masters by ordering their exercises to be brought to him, and that he never went to Chiswick without taking two of the scholars with him. It is also added, that he frequently sent for the uppermost boys, and employed entire evenings in their instruction, which he conducted in a manner replete with mildness and encouragement.

He was consecrated Bishop of Chichester November 3, 1605, translated to Ely November 6, 1609, and from that see to Winchester February 25, 1618-19. He died September 21, 1626, and was buried in the church of St. Saviour, Southwark. He assisted in the present translation of the Bible; a volume of his sermons was printed after his death, and his private devotions and meditations in Greek were translated into English by Dr. Stanhope.

His monument bears the following inscription; nor does its animated strain of praise transcend the virtues of the prelate whose memory it was written to perpetuate.

Lector,
Si Christianus es, siste:
Moræ pretium erit
Non nescire te, qui vir hîc situs sit:
Ejusdem tecum catholicæ ecclesiæ membrum,
Sub eadem felicis resurrectionis spe,
Eandem D. Jesu præstolans Epiphaniam,
Sacratissimus antistes Lancelotus Andrews,
Londini oriundus, educatus Cantabrigiæ,
Aulæ Pembrochianæ alumnorum sociorum, præfectorum
Unus, et nemini secundus.

* P. 45.

Linguarum, artium, scientiarum,
Humanorum, divinorum, omnium
Infinitus thesaurus, stupendum oraculum;
Orthodoxæ Christi ecclesiæ,
Dictis, scriptis, precibus, exemplo,
Incomparabile propugnaculum.
Reginæ Elizabethæ a sacris,
D. Pauli London. Residentarius,
D. Petri Westmonast. Decanus.
Episcopus Cicestrensis, Eliensis, Wintoniensis,
Regique Jacobo tum ab eleemosynis,
Tum ab utriusque regni consiliis,
Decanus denique sacelli regii.
Idem ex
Indefessâ operâ in studiis,
Summâ sapientiâ in rebus
Assiduâ pietate in Deum,
Profusâ largitate in egenos,
Rarâ amænitate in suos,
Spectatâ probitate in omnes,
Æternum admirandus.
Annorum pariter et publicæ famæ satur,
Sed bonorum passim omnium cum luctu denatus,
Cælebs hinc migravit ad aulam cælestem
Anno
Regis Caroli 2do. ætatis suæ LXXI.
Christi MDCXXVI.
Tantum est (lector) quod te mærentes posteri
Nunc volebant, atque ut ex voto tuo valeas, dicto
Sit Deo gloria*.

* Waller, the poet, relates the following curious story of Andrews, which marks the readiness

RICHARD NEILE.

On the promotion of Andrews to the bishopric of Chichester, Neile succeeded to the deanery of this church. He was born in Westminster in the beginning of March 1561-2; his father following the trade of a tallow-chandler in King-street. He was proceeding in his education at Westminster school when his father died, and his mother, being unable to bear the expence of completing it at the university, was about to bind him apprentice to a bookseller; but, on the recommendation of Dean Goodman, he was sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, and maintained there by Mildred Lady Burleigh. Of that college he was, in due time, chosen fellow, and became chaplain to the Cecil family, who bestowed on him the vicarage of Cheshunt, their magnificent seat of Theobalds being in that parish. In the year 1598, he was appointed treasurer of the church of Chichester, and, by the continuing favour of Cecil, about that time created Earl of Salisbury, he was, November 5, 1605, installed Dean of Westminster.

He has left behind him an account, formally attested by seven of the prebendaries, under the several heads of buildings and repairs; of the increase in the revenue and furniture of the church; of improving the charters and register-books; of works of charity and hospitality, and the several transactions of the

of his wit and the acuteness of his understanding. Waller, it seems, was one day at court while King James I. was at dinner, who was attended by Andrews, then Bishop of Winchester, and Neile, Bishop of Durham, when his majesty said to the prelates, "My lords, cannot I take my subjects' "money when I want it without all this formality in parliament?"—To which question Bishop Neile instantly replied, "God forbid, sir, but you should, for you are the breath of our nostrils."—On which the king said to the Bishop of Winchester, "And well, my lord, what say you?"—"Sir," replied Andrews, "I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases."—The king then said, "No "put-offs, my lord, but answer me presently."—"Then, sir," he replied, "it is, at all events, lawful "for you to take my brother Neile's money, as he has himself given your majesty such an unreserved "power to call for it whenever you shall be pleased so to do."

college, during the five years which formed the term of his government*. This brief history of the dean is also included in it. It contains, however, no historical circumstance, but that the tomb of Anne of Cleves, which had been neglected and left unfinished by the crown and her executors for fifty years, was covered with a black marble, and surrounded with a railing, at the expence of the church; and that Mr. Camden presented to the chapter a bason and ewer of silver weighing 105 ounces.

On the 9th of October, 1608, he was promoted to the bishopric of Rochester, and was allowed to hold this deanery *in commendam*. December 6, 1610, he was translated to the see of Litchfield and Coventry, when he vacated the deanery. After the several successive translations, to Lincoln in 1613-14, to Durham in 1617, and to Winchester 1627-28, he was at length advanced, March 19, 1631-32, to the archbishopric of York, where he died October 31, 1640. He was interred in his cathedral there, and not only unnoticed by any monumental inscription, but, according to Willis, in his *Survey of Cathedrals*, without even a stone to receive it†.

He has never been represented as approaching his predecessor Andrews in extent of erudition‡; but he was not without a claim to consideration as a man of talents; nor was he less conspicuous, in his day, for a wise application of them. Heylyn, however, in his *Life of Laud*§, and it cannot be supposed that he was a stanger to his character, speaks of him in a way that would not be expected from the progress of his life. "A man," says he, "of so strange a

* *Archives of the Church.*

† P. 55.

‡ Winwood's *Letters.*

§ P. 75.

" composition was Archbishop Neile, that whether he were of a larger or more " public soul, or of a more uncourtly conversation, it were hard to determine."

GEORGE MONTAIGNE.

When the deanery of Westminster was vacated by the translation of Neile to the see of Litchfield and Coventry, it was conferred on Montaigne, at that time one of the king's chaplains. Cawood Castle, in the county of York, was the place of his nativity; and he had been fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, one of the Gresham professors, and master of the Savoy, previous to his being appointed the dean of this church. He is described as being endowed with an apt and ready wit; and is said to have obtained the favour of James I. by the brilliance and pleasantry of his colloquial talents.

No remarkable circumstance appears to have occurred relative to this church, during the period of his administration of it; which concluded December 14, 1617, on his advancement to the bishopric of Lincoln. He was translated to London July 20, 1621; in the year 1627, to Durham; and, in October, 1628, he was finally promoted to the archbishopric of York, which he enjoyed but a short time after his installation, and was buried in Cawood church. His busto, in marble and in episcopal robes, is placed against the north wall of the chancel. His tomb displays this inscription*:

Quatuor antistes qui præfuit urbibus, arce
Hac satus est infans, hac satus arce senex.
Nec mera provexit geminorum gratia regum,
Sed meritum, summis par ubicunque locis.

* Willis's *Survey of Cathedrals.*

Sic juvenis, sic pene puer septem imbibit artes,
Granta ubi Castaliis prædominatur aquis.
Moribus haud tetricis, nec pectore turpis avaro,
Non etenim nimias pone reliquit opes.

HUGO HOLLANDUS *flevit.*

Georgio Montaigneo honestis hoc in oppido penatibus oriundo, Cantabrigia per cunctos disciplinarum gradus provecto, et academiæ procuratori, initio D. Jacobi, hospitio quod Sabaudiam vocant, et ecclesiæ Westmonast. præfecto; ab eodem rege ad præsulatum Lincoln. ac inde post aliqua temporum spiramenta Londinensem promoto: a Carolo divi F. ad Dunelmensem honestissimi senii et valetudinis secessum translato: moxque, h. e. infra spatium trimestre, ad archiepiscopat. Ebor. benigniter sublevato: viro venerabili, aspectu gravi, moribus non injucundis, ad beneficia non ingrato, injuriarum non ultori unquam, nec (quantum natura humana patitur) memori, amborum principum Dom. suoque eleemosynario*.

Isaacus Motaigneus testamenti curator, frater. B. M. M. P. vixit annos 59. M.6-D.2.

ROBERT TOUNSON

Was installed dean of this church December 16, 1617, on the promotion of his predecessor to the bishopric of Lincoln. He was born at Cambridge, and had been, as well as Montaigne, a fellow of Queen's College in that university. It is not known that he possessed any ecclesiastical preferment previous to the attainment of the deanery; nor does any particular occurrence respecting the Church of Westminster appear to have happened during the short space of two years and an half, which was the term of his retaining the principal office in it.

He was advanced to the see of Salisbury July 9, 1620, and died some time

* This inscription is minutely copied from the monument.

in the month of May, 1621; leaving behind him, as is related by Camden, a widow and fifteen children, with very slender means of provision*. He was buried in the abbey, opposite to St. Edmund's chapel; but without a stone to distinguish his grave.

Hacket, in his *Life of Archbishop Williams*†, and he was qualified to speak from personal knowledge of Tounson, describes him as a man of singular piety, eloquence, and humility. By another writer he is said to possess a graceful presence, and to be an excellent preacher‡.

JOHN WILLIAMS.

On the 10th of July, 1620, which was the day after Tounson's consecration as Bishop of Salisbury, Williams was installed Dean of Westminster. He was born at Aber-Conway, in the county of Caernarvon, in North Wales§, in the year 1582, and was descended from a good family in that principality. His education, which was begun at Ruthin, he completed at Cambridge, and became a fellow of St. John's College, in that university. He was afterwards taken into the family of Lord Chancellor Egerton, on whose death he was appointed chaplain to James I. who, on the 10th of September, 1619, conferred on him the deanery of Salisbury; which, in about ten months, he quitted for that of Westminster. In the following year he was sworn into the office of privy counsellor, and advanced to be keeper of the great seal and Bishop of Lincoln; holding the deanery of Westminster, at the same time, *in commendam*.

* Camden. *Annal. Jac.* I.

† P. 44.

‡ H. Turner's manuscript *Survey of Westminster.*

§ The history of this remarkable person was written by Dr. Hacket, afterwards Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, who had been his chaplain, and which is referred to by all the historians of this period.

Williams obtained his eminent situation in this church by the favour and protection of Villiers Duke of Buckingham; and is said to have made Abbot Islip and Dean Andrews, two of his predecessors, the models of his conduct: the former, on account of his attention to the buildings of the church; the latter, for his encouragement of the school and scholars, as well as his general zeal for the advancement of learning*.

Soon after he had taken possession of his dignity, he expended four thousand five hundred pounds, of his own money, in repairing the north-west side of the church and the front of the chapels in the south-east, which were the most decayed parts of the building, as well as adding statues and other decorations. When, however, it was falsely and malignantly reported, that a provision had been made for this expence, by savings from the table allowance of the prebendaries, he procured an attestation from them, to vindicate his character and acknowledge the benefaction†.

Widmore states, that it was Dean Williams who converted a large empty room in the east part of the cloisters, which had been the monks' parlour while the place was a monastery, into a public library, the fitting up of which, and furnishing it with books, cost him two thousand pounds; besides the benefactions which his commanding interest and the influence of his high station, had procured from others‡. But whatever advantages or additions the library might receive from his liberal spirit, the original application of the apartment to that purpose appears to have taken place during the time of Dean Goodman§.

* Islip was the last person who had concerned himself about the buildings of the abbey; and Hacket's testimony respecting the attention which Andrews paid to the instruction and improvement of the Westminster scholars, has been already mentioned.

† Appendix, No. XII.

‡ Widmore's *Hist. of West. Abbey*, p. 151.

§ First Chapter Book, fol. 223.

He did not delay to realise his design of promoting the interest of the school, as, in April, 1624, he settled a benefaction of twenty-seven pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, to be paid annually, for four scholars, to be distinguished by purple gowns, and removed, in due course, to St. John's College, Cambridge, the place of his own education. This gift seems to have been intended as the forerunner of future scholarships, fellowships, and advowsons of livings*.

Hacket also relates the following acts of this dean, respecting his church, which are very honourable to his disposition and character†. The prebendaries, who, at that time, took their meals at a common table, had so far exceeded their allowance, as to become involved in a debt of three hundred pounds. On this occasion, he took the whole upon himself, and relieved them from the very pressing incumbrance. He also, about the same time, gave no ordinary example of vigour and resolution, in defending the rights of his chapter. It seems that the lord steward of the king's household and the knight marshal attempted to encroach on the jurisdiction of the college, in the liberty of Westminster; when he steadily opposed them, maintained its rights, would admit of no composition, and, by his determined conduct, rendered the design altogether ineffectual‡.

The church and school had every reason to indulge the expectation of solid and lasting advantages from his munificent character; but, whatever they might have been, it is to be regretted, that he was prevented from granting or procuring them, by the scene of trouble in which he was shortly involved: for, on the death

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 45.

† *Ibid.* p. 47.

‡ There is, in the *Cabala*, a letter from him to the Duke of Buckingham, on this subject; but it is misplaced and has a wrong date, as Williams was not the lord keeper in 1621—p. 395, edit. 1691.

of James I.* he was not only dismissed from the office of lord keeper of the great seal, but suffered also a prosecution, by order of Charles I. in the Star Chamber, which was prolonged, in various shapes, for several years, and at length, in 1637, ended in suspension, imprisonment, and a fine of ten thousand pounds.

In addition to these troubles, a royal visitation of this church was instituted against him by Heylin, and several other prebendaries, to gratify the wishes of Archbishop Laud: and it is, surely, a deep stain on the memory of that eminent prelate, that he should, for such a length of time, with so much unwearied violence, and such faint calls from justice, prosecute a man, to whose pressing recommendation to the king, after the Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of the day, had solicited for him in vain, he was indebted for promotion to his first bishopric.

Some of the articles of this visitation may be seen in Hacket†, and the purport of the whole may be learned from the king's commission‡: the charge was not considerable, and but ill made out, nor did it produce the injurious effects proposed to be derived from it.

During the time that Williams was confined in the Tower, two royal commissions, of the different dates of November 21, 1637, and February 16, 1638-9, were granted to the sub-dean and prebendaries, to hold chapters, and transact the necessary business of the college, when the dean was incapacitated by his imprisonment.

November 16, 1640, he was ordered to attend the House of Lords, when his

* He attended James I. on his deathbed, and preached his funeral sermon; but was prohibited from officiating as Dean of Westminster at the coronation of Charles I. which duty was performed by Laud, who was then a prebendary of the church.

† Part II. p. 91.

‡ Rymer's *Fœd*, tom. XIX. p. 630.

§ Dec. 4, 1641.

liberty was restored to him; and, in the following month, the king gave directions that all judgments and orders, which had been issued against him in any court or registry, should be erased. Thus his honour, at least, was repaired; and a tacit avowal was made, that he had been treated with unmerited severity. But to make him still further amends for his great expence and sufferings from the Star Chamber prosecution, he was promoted to the archbishopric of York, to which he was introduced, the king being there, with great pomp and ceremony: he was also allowed to hold the deanery of Westminster, *in commendam*, for the space of three years.

The public state of the kingdom was such at this time as to threaten the miseries which followed; and besides the insults and mistreatment which Williams received, in common with his right reverend brethren of the episcopal bench; this church was attacked, May 3, 1641, by an armed mob, led on by Cornelius Burgess, a Puritan doctor of divinity. They were, however, repelled; but a Sir Richard Wiseman, being killed in the attempt, he was buried with a degree of respect, as if he had fallen in the cause of religion and his country; a sum of money having been collected, as it is said, by the London apprentices, to defray the expences of his funeral.

About midsummer, 1642, Archbishop Williams retired, or, rather, was driven, from his deanery, and went to reside in his archiepiscopal palace of York: but not being suffered to remain in peace there, he took refuge in the place of his nativity, in North Wales, where he passed the remainder of his life in study and devotion, and died March 25, 1650. He was buried in Llandegay church, near Radnor, in Caernarvonshire. A monument was erected to his memory, by his nephew and heir, Sir Griffith Williams, which bears this inscription:

Hospes, lege, relege,
Quod in hoc sacello paucis noto, haud expectares.
Hic situs est
Johannes Wilhelmus, omnium præsulum celeberrimus.

A paternis natalibus e familia Wilhelmorum de Coghwhillin
Ortus;
A maternis e Griffithis de Pentrin.

Cujus summum ingenium et in omni genere literarum præstantia
Meruit, ut regis Jacobi gratia ad decanatum Sarum,
Post Westmonasterii eveheretur.

Ut simul
Atque uno munere, tanto regi esset a consiliis et deliciis,
Magni sigilli custos et sedis Lincolniensis episcopus:
Quem Carolus primus insulâ episcopat. Eborac. decoraret.
Omnes scientias valdè edoctus: novem linguarum thesaurus:
Theologiæ puræ et illibatæ medulla: prudentiæ politicæ cortina:
Sacræ, canonicæ, civilis, municipalis sapientiæ apex et ornamentum.
Dulciloquii cymbalum, memoriæ tenacissimæ plusquam humanæ;
Historiarum omni generis myrothecium.

Magnorum operum, usque et sumptum viginti mille librarum,
Structor.
Munificentiæ, liberalitatis, hospitalis lautitiæ,
Misericordiæ erga pauperes insigne exemplum.

Postquam, inter tempora luctuosissima,
Satur esset omnium, quæ videret et audiret,
Nec regi aut patriæ, per rabiem perduellium, amplius servire potuit,
Anno ætatis 68°. expletos, Martis 25°. qui fuit ei natalis,
Summa fide in Christum, inconcussâ erga regem fidelitate,
Animam, anginâ extinctus, piissime Deo reddidit.

Nec refert quod tantillum monumentum, in occulto angulo positum,
Tanti viri memoriam servat;
Cujus virtutes omnium ætatum tempora celebrabunt.
Abi, viator.
Sat tuis oculis debes.

The active part which this eminent person took, in discharging the duties of those various and important situations which he filled, had rendered him a conspicuous figure in the history of his times. His character, therefore, has been given, by different writers, according to the influence of their respective opinions and interests: at the same time, they all agree in acknowledging the vigour of his understanding, the extent of his attainments, and the generosity of his nature. Widmore quaintly observes, and with apparent justice, that he will be a very good man indeed, who shall design better, or do more, for the Church of Westminster, than this man did*.

When Archbishop Williams had retired to York, but before the period of his *commendam* had expired, the affairs of the Church of Westminster were left to the care of the sub-dean, who continued to execute his office in the best manner which the extraordinary and difficult circumstances of the times would allow. In the following year, the House of Commons, as it appears on its journals, made this collegiate church an object of its particular attention. April 24, 1643, a committee was appointed to receive information concerning its affairs, and to demolish any monuments of superstition, or remains of idolatry, which were to be found there. This resolution seems to have been carried into immediate execution; for, on the 31st of the following month, orders were given to burn the copes belonging to it, and to remit the produce, as those official habiliments were made of very rich and costly materials, to the poor of Ireland. In a few days after, it was also resolved, that the doors of the treasury, or room in the cloisters, should be opened, without asking the consent of the prebendaries, and that an inventory of what was therein contained, should be taken and presented to the house. This resolution was introduced on a vague and fallacious pretence, that the Dean of Westminster might have conveyed away the crown, and other regalia, of which this

* *Hist. of Westm. Abbey*, p. 155.

chamber was the repository*. This proposition, however, was not carried without considerable opposition, and after having been once rejected. The following singular occurrence is connected with the execution of this order. Henry Marten, who was appointed to execute this parliamentary commission, having found every thing safe and in order, indulged his republican fancy in dressing up George Withers the poet, by placing the crown on his head, and the sceptre in his hand; who, thus arrayed, was seen to walk in scorn and mockery about the cloister†. It was some time after, however, that these decorative emblems of royalty were taken away and sold‡. August 21, in the same year, the sub-dean and prebendaries were ordered to grant the use of the pulpit, on Sundays, in the afternoon, to such lecturers as the commons should appoint.

January 13, 1643-4, sixteen members of the House of Commons, with a subsequent addition of four others, were nominated as a committee, to enquire into the state of this church; and, on the 28th of the succeeding February, Dr. Staunton, and six other Presbyterian ministers, were appointed to keep an exercise in this church, for half an hour every morning, instead of the usual daily service. April 22, 1644, all persons who belonged to, or had dependance on, this church, were commanded to take the covenant; and, two days after, directions were given to sell the brass and iron in Henry the VII.th's chapel. In the following month, the plate belonging to the College of Westminster, already taken, was ordered to be melted, and the produce to be applied by the committee for the use of this church, and to pay the servants and workmen employed about it. October 9, in the same year, two of the members were directed to inform the house, what su-

* *Weekly Intelligencer*, June 26, 1643.

† *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. II. p. 660, edit. 1721.

‡ The regalia now in use were made after the restoration.

perstitious plate was in the room where the regalia were kept, that it might be melted and sold, and the produce employed to purchase horses.

RICHARD STEWARD.

On the expiration of Archbishop Williams' *commendam*, in December, 1644, the king gave the deanery to this divine, who had been a prebendary of the church since April, 1638: but the disturbed state of the country prevented him from receiving instalment, and he did not live to see the restoration. He died at Paris, in November, 1651, soon after Charles II. took refuge thither, on the loss of the battle of Worcester. He was buried in that city, in a cemetery assigned to persons of the reformed religion. The inscription on his grave was prepared by himself.

Memoriæ
Ricardi Steward Decani Westmonaster.
Et sacelli regii in Anglia;
Qui hoc tantum monumento suo inscribi
Voluit epitaphium.
Hic jacet Ricardus Steward,
Qui
Assidue oravit pro pace
Ecclesiæ.
Obiit 14 Nov.
Ætatis 58*.

During the turmoils and contests of this unhappy period, the dean and all the prebendaries were dispersed, except Lambert Osbolstone, who, having been

* Lord Clarendon, in his history, mentions him in terms of regard and respect, and as fully justifying the esteem which Charles I. professed for him.—Some account is given of his writings in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. I. edit. 140.

prosecuted in the Star Chamber, by Archbishop Laud, in the year 1638, had been thought a fit person to receive the favour and indulgence of the parliament. The deserted church, however, became the care of both houses of parliament, as appears by an ordinance, dated November 18, 1645, made by them, wherein its government was consigned to a committee of eleven lords and twenty-two commoners*. By this instrument, they were restricted from letting leases of the estates belonging to the church for more than three years; and were also directed to establish regular preaching in it. They accordingly allowed £200 a year for sermons on Sundays in the abbey, and fifty pounds each to seven persons, besides a prebendal house, for a daily morning lecture. The other manors belonging to the church, were let; and among their tenants was the notorious President Bradshaw, who occupied the deanery, for which he had a regular lease, and where he died October 31, 1659. By a subsequent ordinance, the term for granting leases was extended to twenty-one years.

In September 1649, the House of Commons passed an act for the continuance and support of the school and almshouses of Westminster. It also ordered, that the management of the college should be entrusted to fifty-six governors, of whom two or three alone were peers. The annual charge of the school, the almshouses, the weekly poor, the preachers or lecturers, the maintenance of the buildings, &c. was computed to amount, at this time, to one thousand nine hundred pounds. The estates vested in these governors were particularly specified, or rather their reserved rents; as the fee or inheritance of several of them was afterwards sold, and the old rents only continued to the college. The church remained subject to the controul of this committee till the restoration, in 1660.

* Appendix, No. XIII.

JOHN EARLE.

On the return of Charles II. to take possession of his kingdom, the government and affairs of the nation soon resumed their former course and character, when this excellent and learned man was appointed Dean of Westminster*. The particular date of his instalment does not appear; but it must have been very soon after the restoration; as, on the 5th of July, in the year distinguished by that happy event, four new prebendaries were regularly installed.

He was born in the city of York, in the year 1601, and educated at Merton College, in Oxford. In 1631, he became chaplain to Philip Earl of Pembroke, who presented him to the rectory of Bishopstone, in Wiltshire, and was also appointed chaplain and tutor to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. He was likewise made chancellor of the cathedral of Salisbury. In common with the rest of the loyal clergy, he suffered for his affectionate attachment to his sovereign; and being deprived, on that account, of his ecclesiastical preferments, he went over to France, where he was appointed chaplain and clerk of the closet to his unfortunate sovereign, who had sought a refuge in that kingdom after his disastrous defeat near Worcester.

The short time of Dean Earle's government of this church, is chiefly remarkable for the large sums of money expended by the chapter for public, religious, and charitable uses. In the repairs of the church, furnishing it with suitable ornaments, augmenting the vicarages in its patronage, in abatements to tenants, in a gift to the king, and for the redemption of slaves in Turkey, upwards of twenty-four thousand pounds were expended†.

* He is called by Lord Clarendon, Earles, which orthography has undeniable authority from his own signatures.

† The charge made by Bishop Burnet against Lord Clarendon, for suffering persons in particular situations, to waste, or make an improper use of, the large sums of money which passed through

A singular letter is still extant of this pious dean to the Lord Mayor of London, in which he acquaints the metropolitan magistrate, that, in former times, it had been customary for his lordship's predecessors, after they had been sworn into their office before the Barons of the Exchequer in Westminster Hall on Lord Mayor's day, to come to this church, and sanctify their municipal ceremonials, by a devotional service in the chapel of Henry VII. He accordingly invites him to renew this solemn act of religion, and engages to receive him with all suitable formality and respect. It does not appear, however, that this invitation produced any religious act on the part of the city of London*.

Dean Earle was consecrated Bishop of Worcester November 30, 1662, and, in the following year, was translated to the see of Salisbury. He died at Oxford, when the king and parliament were there, in the time of the plague, November 17, 1665, and was buried before the high altar, in the chapel of Merton College, with great ceremony, his remains being attended from the public schools by an herald at arms, and the principal persons of the court and university. A monument was erected in honour of him, in the place of his interment, with the following inscription:

Amice, si, quis hic sepultus est, roges;
Ille, qui nec meruit unquam,
Nec, quod majus est, habuit inimicum.
Qui potuit in aulâ vivere, et mundum spernere,
Concionator educatus inter principes,
Et ipse facile princeps inter concionatores,
Evangelista indefessus, episcopus pientissimus;

their hands, cannot, at least, be applied to the dean and chapter of the Church of Westminster.—Burnet's *Hist. of his own Time*, p. 186.

* *Archives of the Church.*

Ille qui una cum sacratissimo rege,
Cujus et juvenilium studiorum
Et animæ Deo charæ
Curam a beatissimo patre demandatam gessit,
Nobile et religiosum exilium est passus:
Ille qui Hookeri ingentis Politiam ecclesiasticam,
Ille qui Caroli Martyris Εικόνα Βασιλικὴν
(Volumen quo post Apocalypsin divinius nullum),
Legavit orbi sic Latine redditas,
Ut uterque, unius fidei defensor,
Patriam adhuc retineat majestatem.
Si nomen ejus necdum tibi suboleat, lector,
Nomen ejus ut unguenta pretiosa;
Johannis Earle Eboracensis
Serenissimo Carolo II. regii oratorii Clericus,
Ecclesiæ aliquando Westmonasteriensis Decanus,
deinde Wigornensis,
tandem Sarisburiensis, } Angelus.
et nunc triumphantis,
Obiit Oxonii Novemb. 17, anno { Domini 1665,
ætatis suæ 65.
Voluitque in hoc, ubi olim floruerat, collegio,
Ex Ædе Christi huc in socium ascitus,
Ver magnum, ut efflorescat, expectare.

JOHN DOLBEN.

He was installed dean of this church December 3, 1662, on his predecessor's promotion to the bishopric of Worcester. He was born at Staniwick, in the county of Northampton, of which place his father was the rector; was educated at the school of this college, and elected from it to Christ Church, Oxford, in the year 1640, when he was fifteen years of age. In the civil wars he bore arms

for the king, and was dangerously wounded at the siege of York. His loyalty was a crime sufficient to produce the subsequent ejection from his studentship by the parliamentary visitors. He still, however, continued at Oxford; and married a niece of Dr. Sheldon, afterwards Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. When he entered into holy orders, he assisted Mr. Fell, afterwards Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, in the offices of his domestic chapel in that city, during the usurpation. After the restoration, he was preferred to a canonry of Windsor, and appointed clerk of the closet to the king. He was afterwards removed to the deanery of Westminster.

The day of his instalment was distinguished by a very wise, and indeed necessary, resolution of the chapter, to make the fabric of the church an equal sharer with it in the dividends of fines. Where the buildings were so extensive, and without any estates appropriated by the foundation to answer the unavoidable expences of reparation, and especially at this time when certain parts of the church were in a very threatening state, a measure of that kind was naturally suggested to his liberal mind: but it required the utmost exertion of his resolute spirit, to carry it into effect; as it met with a very determined opposition from some of the members of his chapter. On this occasion, however, as well as during the long period of twenty years, which composed the æra of his vigilant administration of this church, he steadily maintained his jurisdictive power and authority.

November 25, 1666, Dean Dolben succeeded Dr. Warner in the bishopric of Rochester, and was allowed to hold his deanery *in commendam*. He was afterwards appointed almoner to the king; and, in 1683, on the death of Archbishop Sterne, he was translated to the see of York; and died at Bishops-Thorp, of the small-pox, April 11, 1686. He was buried in the cathedral of his diocese; and his monument bears this record of him:

Hic situs est
JOHANNES DOLBEN, filius Gulielmi, S. Th. Professoris;
Ex antiqua familia in Cambria Septentrionali oriundus,
Natus Stanvici in agro Northampton. Mart. 20, A. D. 1624.
Anno ætatis xii. regiam scholam Westmonast. auspicato ingressus,
Singulari istius loci genio plenus, xv. exivit,
In numerum alumnorum Ædis Christi Oxon. electus.
Exardente bello civili
Partes regias secutus est, in pugna Marstoniensi Vexillarius,
In defensione Eboraci graviter vulneratus,
Effuso sanguine consecravit locum,
Olim morti suæ destinatum.
A. D. 1656, a Rev. Episc. Cicestrensi sacris ordinibus
initiatus,
Instauratâ monarchiâ factus est Ædis Christi canonicus,
Deinde decanus Westmonasteriensis,
Mox Carolo II. regi optimo ab oratorio clericus,
Episcopus postea Roffensis,
Et post novennium regis eleemosynarius:
Anno denique 1683. Metropol. Eboracens. honore cumulatus est:
Hanc provinciam ingenti animo et pari industria administravit,
Gregi et pastoribus exemplo,
Intra xxx circiter menses seculi laboribus exhaustus,
Cœlo tandem maturus,
Lethargia et variolis per quatriduum lecto affixus,
A. D. 1686, æt. 62, potentis. princ. Jacobi II. altero
Die dominico,
Eodem die, quo, præunte anno, sacras synaxes
In eccles. sua cathed. septimanatim celebrandas instituerat,
Cœlo fruebatur.
Mœstissima conjux, magni Gilberti Cantuariensis Archiep.

Neptis,
Ex qua liberos suscepit Gilbertum, Catharin. et Johan.
Monumentum hoc posuit
Disideratissimo marito,
In Æde Christi sub illius auspiciis partim extructa,
Bromleiensi palatio reparato,
Cænobio Westmonaster. conservato,
In senatu et ecclesiis eloquentiæ gloriâ, in diæcesibus suis
Episcopali diligentiâ,
In omnium piorum animis justa veneratione semper victuro.

Some additional circumstances of his life may be found in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses**. Burnet, who was not free from a party spirit, while he censures him on one particular occasion, allows him to have been an excellent preacher, and that he fulfilled the duties of his high station in a manner very honourable to his character†. Widmore says, that he had often heard the old inhabitants of Westminster, who lived in his time, speak of him with great esteem, and represent him as an excellent dean‡. Some of his sermons, on public occasions, are in print.

THOMAS SPRAT.

He was the son of a clergyman, and born at Tallaton, in Devonshire, in the year 1636. He was educated, as he himself relates the circumstance, at a little school by the churchyard side. He afterwards went to Oxford, and was entered as a commoner of Wadham College, of which, in due time, he became a fellow. After the restoration, he entered into holy orders; and, by the recommendation of

* Vol. II. p. 793.

† Burnet's *Hist. of his own Time*, p. 590.

‡ Widmore's *Hist. of Westm. Abbey*, p. 161.

Cowley, Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, appointed him his domestic chaplain*. He was likewise chaplain to the king. In 1668, he was preferred to a prebendal stall in this church; and, soon after, presented to the adjoining church of St. Margaret: — in 1680, a canonry of Windsor was added to his other preferments. In 1683, he was advanced to the dignity of Dean of Westminster; and, in the following year, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, on the translation of Bishop Turner to the see of Ely, with the privilege of holding his deanery *in commendam*. He was also clerk of the closet to the king; and, in 1685, was nominated Dean of the Chapel Royal. In the succeeding year, he received the last mark of his sovereign's confidential regard, by being appointed one of the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs.

During his time, in the latter end of the year 1694, the library of this church was consumed by fire, and one alone of all the manuscripts was saved from the flames. There were about two hundred and thirty, the far greater part, if not all, of which, were the gift of Archbishop Williams. They were considered as a very valuable collection, and some of them being no where else to be found, the loss was, in some measure, irreparable.

In the year 1697, on the motion of the Right Honourable Mr. Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, who had been educated at this school, a portion of the duty on coals was granted by parliament for the repair of this church. The necessity of such an aid at that time, was clearly proved by the accurate and masterly statement of Sir Christopher Wren, who was employed to make the requisite repairs and carry into execution the projected additions†. Nor should the attention of the dean to this beautiful structure be suffered to pass

* It has been said, that he assisted his noble patron in the celebrated play of *The Rehearsal*.

† See the account of Abbot Berkyng, p. 137.

unnoticed, as it appears in the memorial which the great architect addressed to his successor.

In 1706, the very beautiful marble altar-piece was placed in the choir. It had decorated a chapel in Whitehall, and was removed from thence to Hampton Court, where it lay in an useless state, till it was obtained by a grant from Queen Anne, on the petition of the dean and chapter, to adorn their church, at the suggestion of Sir Christopher Wren*.

Bishop Sprat died May 20, 1713, after having enjoyed the deanery of this church near thirty years. He was interred in the chapel of St. Nicholas, where a monument was erected to perpetuate the remembrance of him: but, that it might be rendered more conspicuous, it has been removed into the body of the church, and placed against the south wall. The inscription proceeded from the elegant and classical pen of Dr. Freind†:—

H. S. E.

Thomas Sprat, S. T. P.

In agro Durotrigum patre clerico natus,

Collegii Wallhamensis Oxon. socius,

Varia egregiæ indolis ac doctrinæ specimina

* This altar-piece is said to have been first erected in the time of James II.; but, be that as it may, the elegance of the design will justify the conjecture, that it originally proceeded from the mind of Inigo Jones: it must, however, strike every judicious beholder as decidedly inappropriate in its character to the style of the structure in which it stands. But Sir Christopher Wren, and his great predecessor, have both been guilty of similar offences against genuine taste, by the introduction of the Grecian orders to decorate what has been properly styled the ecclesiastical architecture of the middle ages.—See Appendix, No. XIV.

† He lived in strict intimacy with that learned man, elegant writer, and excellent physician; and it is supposed, that his brother, Dr. Robert Freind, was indebted to the patronage of the dean for his appointment to the mastership of Westminster school.

Poeta adhuc impubes edidit:
Sed Musis, utcunque amicis cito valedicens,
Hanc Couleio suo gloriam relinquere,
Et solutæ orationis venustatem sequi maluit.
Hoc sese in studio excercens atque oblectans,
Inter eos qui tum linguam Anglicanam perpolire cæperant
Fere primus emicuit:
Omnesque in sermonem patrium
Græcæ Romanæque eloquentiæ gratias transfudit:
Meritò itaque viris primoribus cum esset acceptissimus,
Statim Georgio illustrissimo Buckinghamiæ Duci,
Deinde Regi Carolo,
Subtili illi elegantiarum arbitro,
Commendatus est.
Et in Ecclesiâ Westmonasterii et Windsoriæ
Præbendam obtinuit:
Mox hac in æde decanus;
Deinde Episcop. Roffensis constitutus:
Utramque provinciam summa cum dignitate administravit:
Tum in scriptis ejus, tum in quotidiano sermone
Illa enituit urbanitas,
Quæ illum cum magnis fuisse versatum haud obscurè ostendit.
Suaviter itaque cum omnibus vixit:
Et tamen ea, quam sibi arrogare minime videbatur,
Maxime semper valuit authoritate.
In dubiis pariter ac secundis temporibus
Constanti in ecclesiam, et reges fide perstitit:
Tantamque in se perditorum hominum invidiam conflavit,
Ut falsis ipsorum criminibus
In capitis discrimen adduceretur:
Sed hisce angustiis feliciter expedito
Æquabili deinceps temperamento defluxit vita,

Nec ipsi nec amicis injucunda:
Donec senectutis maturitate sensim collapsus,
Tranquillè, uti vixerat, obiret,
Maii xxmo. A. D. M.DCC.XIII. A. Æt. LXXVII.

It may be said, with truth, of Bishop Sprat, that he was an ornament of the age in which he lived. Besides his poems, professedly composed in imitation of Cowley, he wrote the *History of the Royal Society*, of which, from his connection with Dr. Wilkins, he became one of the first fellows. "This is among the very "few books," says Dr. Johnson, "which selection of sentiment and elegance of "diction have been able to preserve, though written upon a subject flux and transi- "tory." His subsequent works were the Life of his friend Cowley; Observations on Sorbierre's Voyage into England, in a Letter to Mr. Wren; the History of the Rye-House Plot; a Relation of contrivances against himself, and several persons of high rank, by forgeing their respective signatures; and a volume of Sermons. It has been observed, by the distinguished writer of his life, and the observation is perfectly just, that every book is of a different kind, and, nevertheless, each has its distinct and characteristic excellence. During the long period in which he presided over the affairs of this church, his humane disposition, mild virtues, and endearing conduct, were felt and acknowledged by all who were subject to his influence and government.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY.

This eminent man was born at Milton Heynes, near Newport Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire, of which place his father was the rector. He was educated at Westminster; from whence he was elected, in the year 1680, to Christ Church, Oxford. He came to London in 1691, when he was chosen lecturer of St. Bride's church, and preacher of Bridewell Hospital. In a very short time, he was appointed chaplain to King William and Queen Mary. In 1698, he was named by Sir

John Trevor to be preacher at the Rolls chapel, when he resigned his situation in that of Bridewell; and, in 1700, he was installed Archdeacon of Totness, on the promotion of Trelawney, Bishop of Exeter. On the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702, he was appointed one of her chaplains; and, in 1704, was advanced to the deanery of Carlisle. In 1712, he succeeded Dr. Aldrich in the deanery of Christ Church; and, in the following year, on the death of Bishop Sprat, and by the recommendation of Lord Chancellor Harcourt, he was preferred to the deanery of Westminster, *in commendam*, with the bishopric of Rochester.

During his time, the new dormitory was erected, a large and elegant building, for the scholars on the foundation. In 1708, Sir Edward Hannes, one of the physicians in ordinary to Queen Anne, as a mark of his gratitude for the education which he received at this school, had left by his will a thousand pounds for that useful purpose. It was first intended to raise this structure on the site of the ancient chamber, which was built about the year 1380 for the purpose of a granary, when the place was a monastery; and had been erected on stone arches of sufficient strength to support any new edifice. Sir Edward Hannes' legacy, however, was not sufficient to meet the estimated expence; and Bishop Sprat does not appear to have paid much attention to the business; but Atterbury revived the project, and entered, with his usual activity, into the execution of it. For this purpose, a memorial was presented by the chapter* to George I. who gave a thousand pounds; to which the Prince of Wales added five hundred pounds; the parliament also voted twelve hundred pounds; and William Maurice, Esq. gave five hundred pounds at the time he had leave from the church to dispose of his place of High Bailiff of Westminster. The west side of the college garden was at length chosen as a better situation for the new building, though not without a strong

* Appendix, No. XV.

opposition, as the prebendaries differed in equal numbers as to the fitness of the place, which was finally determined, according to Widmore, by the House of Lords*. The Earl of Burlington gave the design; and it is an example of that simple and chaste style of architecture which never fails to please. That nobleman also engaged to superintend the works; the expence of which amounted to about five thousand pounds.

In the year 1722, Atterbury was committed to the Tower, and, in the following year, was, by act of parliament, deprived of his preferments and banished the kingdom. He died at Paris in February 1731-2, when his body was brought to England, and interred, May 12 of the same year, in the abbey church, in a vault prepared, by his directions, in the year 1722†. His name wants no monumental memorial, and it has none‡. His Sermons are extant in four volumes octavo. Those contained in the two first were published by himself, and dedicated to his friend and patron, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Winchester: those in the two last were published, after his death, by Dr. Thomas Moore, his lordship's chaplain. Four admirable visitation sermons accompany his epistolary correspondence, published by Mr. Nichols in 1783. His controversial writings are well known, with the learning, ability, wit, and superior composition which distinguish them.

As to Bishop Atterbury's character, however the moral and political part of it may have been represented or misrepresented by opposing parties, the opinion

* *History of Westm. Abbey*, p. 169.

† In a letter to Mr. Pope, dated April 6, 1722, he writes as follows:—"I am this moment "building a vault in the Abbey for me and mine. I am to be in the Abbey, because of my relation to "the place."

‡ This omission is said to have been occasioned by an injunction, that his title of Bishop of Rochester should not be inserted in the inscription; to which his friends refused to submit.

will remain uncontradicted, that he was a man of great learning and superior talents, a fine writer and admirable preacher*.

Dr. Richardson, master of Emanuel College, Cambridge, has given the following character of this distinguished prelate† :—

" Illi (Thomæ Sprat) defuncto, mox sufficitur Franciscus Atterbury, Sacræ " Theologiæ Doctor, vir neque dicendus neque tacendus sine cautela; quem non " omnino laudare tam inhonestum foret, quam ultra modum laudare periculosum. " Adolescens in Ædc Christi Oxon. ingenii elegantis perinde ac acuti exem- " plo multiplici se commendavit; in aciem reipublicæ prodiit suo temporis con- " cionator disertissimus; et quod de eo profitebatur testis sane idoneus, *vir fuit in* " *nullo literarum genere hospes, in plerisque artibus et studiis diu et feliciter exercitatus,* " *in maxime perfectis literarum disciplinis perfectissimus*‡. Acri et irrequieto ingenio " magna semper et plerumque nova moliens, ita tamen ut publici potius quam " privati boni honesta species prætexeretur: verum in omnibus fere quæ attigerat " locis ambitione flagrans ingentem invidiam partium concitavit. Non necesse

* In *The Tatler*, No. LXVI. is the following description of Atterbury's pulpit eloquence:— " His person is no small recommendation, but he is to be highly commended for not losing that ad- " vantage; and adding to the propriety of speech, which might pass the citicism of Longinus, an action, " which would have been approved by Demosthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has " many of his audience, who could not be intelligent hearers of his discourse, were there not explana- " tion as well as grace in his action. This art of his is used with the most exact and honest skill; he " never attempts your passions till he has convinced your reason. All the objections which you can " form are laid open and dispersed before he uses the least vehemence in his sermon; but when he " thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart, and never pretends to shew the beauty of " holiness till he has convinced you of the truth of it."

† In his edition of Godwin, *de Præsulibus Angliæ*, p. 541.

‡ Bishop Smalridge, in his inauguration speech, when he presented him as prolocutor to the Upper House of Convocation.

" habeo controversias, quas quidem multiplices acerrimè agitavit, enumerare; sat
" erit adnotasse illum jam ingenii et eruditionis fama florentem post longum eccle-
" siasticorum honorum decursum, quinto Julii 1713, jam tum decanum ecclesiæ
" Westmonast. ad episcopatum Roffensem fuisse consecratum. Augusti vicesimo
" secundo 1722, conjurationis sive princeps sive conscius in judicium publicum,
" utpote læsæ Majestatis reus, coram superioris Domûs Parliamenti tribunali sisti-
" tur; et cum legum jam latarum voce damnari non potuit; specialis lex eâ ipsâ
" de causâ ferretur, pœnas illi arrogans, non extremas quidam sed exilium perpe-
" tuum. Itaque ergo Lutetiæ Parisiorum exul obiit decimo quinto Februarii
" 1732. In fano Westmonasteriensi corpus sepultum jacet."

SAMUEL BRADFORD

Succeeded to this deanery on the removal of his predecessor. He was at that time Bishop of Carlisle, and a prebendary of this church. He was born in London, and educated at Bennet's College, Cambridge. On entering into holy orders, he became chaplain to Bishop Compton. He at this time obtained the rectory of St. Mary le Bow, and afterwards a prebendary of this church, and the mastership of Bennet College. In June, 1718, he was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle; from whence, in the year 1723, he was translated to the see of Rochester, and allowed to hold the deanery of this church *in commendam* with it.

It was during the time of this right reverend dean, in the year 1725, that the ancient order of the Knights of the Bath was revived, in a manner very different from its ancient constitution. The last knights were made at the coronation of Charles II. in 1661; from which time, the order was neglected till the year 1725, when it was revived by command of George I. who ordered a book of statutes to be formed for its regulation. The king assigned the chapel of Henry VII. to be that of the order; where, in imitation of the Order of the Garter, each knight's banner, with plates of his arms and styles, is placed over his stall, as

in St. George's chapel, in the castle of Windsor. The several officers have their specific duties assigned them, and the Dean of Westminster, for the time being, is, in conformity to the statutes, Dean of the Order.

This dean died May 17, 1731, and was buried in the north part of the cross in this church; and on his monument this epitaph is inscribed:

Ex adverso sepultus est
SAMUEL BRADFORD, S. T. P.
Sanctæ Mariæ de Arcubus diu Rector,
Collegii Corporis Christi apud Cantabrigienses aliquando Custos,
Episcopus postea Carleolensis deinde Roffensis,
Hujusque Ecclesiæ et Honoratissimi Ordinis de Balneo
Decanus.
Concionator fuit, dum per valetudinem licuit, assiduus,
Tam moribus, quam præceptis
Gravis, venerabilis, sanctus;
Cumque in cæteris vitæ officiis,
Tum in munere præcipue pastorali
Prudens, simplex, integer.
Animi constantia tam æquabili, tam feliciter temperata,
Ut vix iratus, perturbatus haud unquam fuerit.
Christianam charitatem et libertatem civilem
Ubique paratus asserere et promovere.
Quæ pie, quæ benevole, quæ misericorditer,
In occulto fecerit, et fecit multa,
Præsul humillimus, humanissimus,
Et vere evangelicus;
Ille suo revelabit tempore
Qui in occulto visa, palam remunerabitur.
Ob. XVII die Maii, anno Dom. M.D.CC.XXXI.
Suæque ætatis LXXIX.

This prelate possessed that mild disposition, practised those affable manners, and displayed that christian benevolence, which his epitaph records. Some single sermons form the whole of his printed works.

JOSEPH WILCOCKS.

In a short time after the death of Dr. Bradford, he succeeded to the deanery of this church, with the liberty which had been granted to his four immediate predecessors, of holding it *in commendam* with the bishopric of Rochester. He was fellow of Magdalen College, in the university of Oxford; when he received the appointment of chaplain to the British factory at Lisbon. On his return to England, he became preceptor to the princesses, the royal daughters of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. In the beginning of March, 1720-1, he was preferred to a prebendary in this church; and, in the following December, was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester. In that see he remained till the year 1731, when he was translated to the bishopric of Rochester, which was associated with the deanery of this church. These preferments he held till his death, which took place on the 9th of March, 1756, at the advanced age of eighty-three. His remains were interred in a vault in the Ecclesiastical Court.

During the time in which he presided over the affairs of this church, its repairs and decorations, which had been designed and begun by Sir Christopher Wren, proceeded to completion, and the two western towers were finished, which add so much to the beauty and magnificence of this splendid structure.

ZACHARY PEARCE.

This eminent divine and renowned scholar was the son of a distiller in High Holbourn, London, and born in the year 1690. He was educated at Westminster school, and elected from thence to Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1717,

he entered into holy orders, and became domestic chaplain to Lord Chancellor Parker. In 1719, he was Rector of Stapleford Abbots, Essex; in 1720, of St. Bartholomew, behind the Royal Exchange; and, in 1723, Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields. In 1724, the degree of doctor in divinity was conferred on him by Archbishop Wake. On the impeachment and disgrace of his friend and patron, the Earl of Macclesfield, his attachment to that nobleman, of whose innocence he always maintained a perfect conviction, appears to have delayed for many years his further advancement, though he enjoyed the favour of many persons of high rank and distinction; among whom were, Mr. Pulteney, Archbishop Potter, Lord Hardwicke, and Sir Isaac Newton: Queen Caroline was also pleased to admit him frequently to the honour of her familiar conversation.

At length, however, in 1739, he was made Dean of Winchester; in 1748, he was promoted to the bishopric of Bangor; and, in 1756, translated to the see of Rochester, with the associated deanery of this church. These latter preferments he is said to have accepted with reluctance, as he had already conceived the design of resigning his bishopric and retiring to a state of privacy. In 1763, being advanced to the seventy-third year of his useful and learned life, he considered himself as no longer equal to the duties of his situation, and communicated to his old friend Pulteney, now Earl of Bath, his wish to resign both his bishopric and the deanery, and to retire upon his private fortune. That nobleman accordingly acquainted the king with the bishop's desire; who was pleased to name a day and hour when he would receive him alone in the closet, and hear him on the subject. He then informed the king, that he was anxious to enjoy some interval between the fatigues of business and eternity; and requested his Majesty to consult proper persons, concerning the propriety and legality of his resignation. In about two months, the king informed him, that Lord Mansfield saw no objection; and that Lord Northington, who had entertained some doubts on the sub-

ject, after more mature consideration, thought that there was no solid objection to a compliance with the bishop's request: but, on Lord Bath's applying for Newton, Bishop of Bristol, to succeed him, the ministers interposed, and, at a third audience, the king told him, that he must think no more of resigning. In 1768, however, he obtained leave to resign the deanery; but retained his bishopric till June, 1774, on the 24th day of which month, he closed his distinguished and venerable life.

He was interred in Westminster Abbey, and his monument displays the following record of him:

M. S.

Viri admodum reverendi

ZACHARIÆ PEARCE, S. T. P.

Episcopi Roffensis, hujusque Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ,

Nec non Honoratissimi Ordinis de Balneo,

Decani.

Pueritiâ in schola Westmonasteriensi benè actâ,

Uberiorem scientiæ fructum

Apud Cantabrigienses collegit.

Quantus inde et criticus prodiit et theologus

Testantur scripta istius jamdudum edita,

Testabuntur et mox edenda.

Secessus tandem, ac otii impensè cupidus;

Quò Sacris Literis elucidandis vacaret,

Decanatum hunc abdicavit;

Episcopatum, insuper, modò licuisset

Abdicaturus.

Absoluto, demum, quod præcipue in votis erat,

In Sacrosancta Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum

Limatissimo Commentario,

A laboribus requievit,

XXIX Junij, A. D. M.DCC.LXXIV. Ætat. LXXXIV.

The critical abilities of Bishop Pearce were great, and an application to philological studies, occupied a large portion of his life. During the early part of his residence at the university, he occasionally amused himself with composing essays for the miscellaneous publications of the times, and some of them appeared in *The Spectator* and *The Guardian*. In 1716, he published an edition of Cicero de Oratore: — in 1720, an Account of Trinity College, Cambridge: — in 1721, Epistolæ duæ de editione N. T. a Bentleio suscepta; de corruptis Epistolarum N. T. Locis, &c. :—in 1722, a Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England, on occasion of the Bishop of Rochester's commitment to the Tower :—in 1724, an edition of Longinus:—in 1726, a Sermon which he had preached at the consecration of the church of St. Martin's in the Fields, accompanied with an Essay on the Origin and Progress of Temples:—in 1727, a Vindication of the Miracles of Jesus Christ, in answer to Woolston :—in 1738, two Letters against Dr. Conyers Middleton, in defence of Waterland : — and in 1745, an edition of Cicero de Officiis. He also published a review of Milton's Text, and several occasional sermons. Since his death, a Commentary, with Notes, on the four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles, together with a new translation of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, and a Paraphrase and Notes, have been published by his chaplain, John Derby, M. A..

JOHN THOMAS.

When Bishop Pearce resigned the deanery of this church in the year 1768, Dr. Thomas was appointed his successor. He received the earlier part of his education at Carlisle, and completed it at Oxford. He was many years Vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet-street, and Rector of Bletchingley, in Surry, which he retained till he was advanced to the see of Rochester, on the death of Bishop Pearce, in 1774. He died at his episcopal palace at Bromley, in Kent, August 22, 1793;

but his remains were deposited in a vault of the church of Bletchingley, in Surry. A monument, which displays the following inscription, was erected to his memory, on the south side of the great aisle in Westminster Abbey, and near that of his right reverend predecessor in the deanery and the bishopric.

M. S.

Viri admodum reverendi JOHANNIS THOMAS, LL.D.

Episcopi Roffensis, hujusque Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ,

Honoratissimique Ordinis de Balneo, Decani.

Pueritiâ in schola Carleolensi benè actâ

Uberiorem scientiæ fructum

Apud Oxonienses collegit:

Unde, ingenio, moribus, literis humanis reconditisque,

Ornamentum ac patronus prodiit;

Famâque exinde increbescente, et suaptè pervulgatâ,

Dignitates merendo ornabat,

Divitias largiundo augebat,

Ecclesiam consilio gubernabat,

Auctoritate tuebatur,

Exemplo instituebat:

In negotiis impiger, studiis indefessus,

Omnia ad οἰκοδομὴν referebat:

Donec vitæ muneribus rectè perfunctis,

Atroci morbo diu oppressus,

Invictâ tamen patientiâ

Animam Deo redidit XX° Sextilis A. D. M.DCC.XCIII°

Ætat. LXXXI°.

Hoc inane munus, hoc desiderii (exiguum licet) testimonium,

Præstare contigit nepoti suo.

G. A. T. A. M.

All those, who remember this excellent prelate, will confirm the language of his epitaph. The urbanity of his manners, the suavity of his disposition, the bene-

volence of his heart, and his apostolic meekness, gave a mild dignity to the attainments of learning and of science; so that, matured in virtue as in years, he afforded a venerable example of the universal esteem and regard in which a good man may live, and a still more illustrious proof of the comfort in which a Christian may die.

It was during the time of this dean that the choir was fitted up in its present improved state of simple, elegant, and appropriate decoration.

SAMUEL HORSLEY.

This eminent divine, whose learning and superior talents had already raised him to the episcopal bench, succeeded Dr. Thomas in the see of Rochester and the deanery of this church.

He was born, about the year 1737, in the parsonage of St. Martin's in the Fields, of which his grandfather was the vicar, and his father the clerk in orders. The foundation of his education was laid at Westminster school, and completed at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where, in 1758, he took his degree of bachelor of laws. He went afterwards to Christ Church, Oxford, as tutor to the Earl of Aylesford, then Lord Guernsey; and proceeded to the degree of doctor of laws in that university. It was there he also published his first mathematical work, which was printed at the Clarendon press. It was an edition of the *Inclinations of Apollonius*, an abstruse geometrical work of high estimation*. He left Oxford to settle in London, when he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, of which, in 1773, he was chosen secretary, and continued to serve that office, with great credit to himself, and benefit to the scientific world, during the time that Sir John Pringle was its president: but, as it appeared to him that the views of the society

* Halley had published an edition of the remains of this author's works, while he was Savillian professor in that university.

were directed, under the successor of that learned physician, to objects of an inferior nature, he determined, in his own memorable words on the occasion, to retire from that temple where Philosophy once reigned, and Newton presided as her officiating minister. His great merit introduced him to Lowth, Bishop of London, who appointed him his domestic chaplain, no common honour, and by whose favour he succeeded his father in the livings of St. Mary Newington, Surry, and Thorley, in Hertfordshire; the latter of which he resigned on being preferred to that of Southweald, in Essex.

About this time, he attracted no small attention, from the learned and clerical world, by the superior knowledge and critical acumen which he displayed in his controversy with Dr. Priestley. The able manner in which he exposed the fallacious tenets of that heresiarch, and turned his own weapons against him; the unanswerable arguments which he opposed to his sophisms; with the final and complete victory which he gained over the champion of materialism and philosophical necessity, under the guise of Socinianism, gained him the grateful respect of every friend of genuine Christianity. It was this important contest that introduced him to the notice of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, and his advancement to a stall in the cathedral church of Gloucester soon followed; which, without any acquaintance with that nobleman, was, by his lordship's unsolicited interposition, conferred upon him; while the voluntary favour was enhanced by the declaration, that the honours and emoluments of the church could never be so well bestowed as on such an able defender of it. On the translation of Bishop Smallwell to the see of Oxford, in 1788, Dr. Horsley was promoted, by the influence of the same noble patron, to that of St. David's; when, by his vigilant and truly pastoral conduct, his particular attention to the state of the clergy, and the constant exercise of his episcopal duties, in every branch of them, he obtained the veneration and grateful regard of all ranks of people throughout his diocese. On the death of Bishop Thomas, in 1793, he was translated to the see of Rochester and the deanery of

Westminster. He had already proved himself the decided and humane friend of the inferior clergy, and the same spirit accompanied him to the collegiate church over which he was now appointed to preside. His earliest attention was given to the state of its minor canons and subordinate officers, which was greatly improved by his just and liberal regard to their comforts*. In the year 1802, he was translated to the bishopric of St. Asaph, on the death of the Honourable Dr. Bagot; and died at Brighthelmstone, in the county of Sussex, October 4, 1806. His remains were deposited in the church and near the altar of St. Mary Newington,

* On his removal to the see of St. Asaph, the clergy and gentlemen of the choir of Westminster Abbey, presented to his lordship the following address:—

My Lord,

We the precentor, minor canons, and lay clerks, of this collegiate church, impressed with a deep sense of gratitude to your lordship for the many obligations which we owe to your paternal concern for our welfare and interest, from the time of your lordship's coming to preside over us, down to the present period; and for the ready and kind attention which, in our different applications to your lordship, for the advantage and comfort of ourselves and families, we have always experienced; are prompted, no less by duty than inclination, to express our feelings to your lordship: and when we consider that we are about to lose a dean, who began his residence among us by augmenting our comforts, and continued to enlarge them, by granting additional benefits; however we, in common with the rest of mankind, may rejoice, that great learning and piety are distinguished by suitable rewards, yet, in the present instance, we cannot but lament the loss we shall sustain by your lordship's removal.

Accept, my lord, our warmest thanks for the many favours you have conferred upon us, and permit us to assure your lordship, that the recollection of them will be ever accompanied with sentiments of the most respectful esteem and affection for you. May the evening of your life be rendered happy in the possession of every temporal and spiritual blessing; and as the morning and noon have been spent in the cause of learning and religion, so will your day close, brightened with this assurance, that, in your lordship, the Church of England has long beheld a most able and zealous defender of her holy faith, and a firm and vigilant guardian of her constitution.

Signed, in the name of the Body, by The Precentor.

in Surry, in a vault which had been made to receive those of Mrs. Horsley, who died some time before him. The elegant and affectionate inscription on the monument, which he wrote to perpetuate her virtues, has no addition for himself, but the lines which mark, that in death they were not divided.

It is not to be supposed, that, in times like those in which this prelate lived, such an ardent, powerful, and devoted supporter of the established order of things, in church and state, as he was, could fail of having enemies. The opinion, however, cannot be controverted, that he had great attainments and superior talents; that, in general and scriptural knowledge, he had few equals; that he exposed and overcame one of the most dangerous and seducing heresies of modern times; and that his intellectual vigour, distinguished learning, critical sagacity, as well as recondite knowledge, have combined to place him among the most eminent men of his age and country.

His splendid edition of the Works of Sir Isaac Newton; his Commentaries on the Prophets; his Dissertation on the Latin and Greek Prosodies; his Controversy with Priestley; and a long catalogue of sermons, charges, and other detached publications, are the fruits of his talents and studious life.

On the translation of Bishop Horsley to the see of St. Asaph, the vacant deanery was filled by the Rev. Dr. William Vincent, head master of Westminster school; so well known, and so eminently distinguished, for his learning and his virtues. This dignity he still enjoys—and may he long enjoy it.

SEMPER HONOS, NOMENQUE SUUM, LAUDESQUE MANEBUNT.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

L. Harrison & J. C. Leigh, Printers,
373, Strand.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

From the Original in the Archives of the Church.

† Eadward king gret Wulfwi b. ⁊ Northman scirgerefan. ⁊ Ælfwine Mercfinnes sunu ⁊ ealle mine thergnes on hamtun scire freondlice. ⁊ ic kythe eow that ic habbe gegifen Criste ⁊ see Petre into Westminstre Rotcland ⁊ eall that ther to herd. mid saca. ⁊ mid socne. mid tolle and mid teame. and on eallen thingan. swa full and swa forth fra hit nu silfan on handa stod. And ic ann that Eadgith feo hlefdige hit on hande habbe swa lange swa heo libbe . . . . wære. that munster thær of gegodige. God eow geh.

IN MODERN ENGLISH.

† Edward the king, great Wulfwi the bishop, and Northman the sheriff, and Ælfwine the son of Merefinne, and all my officers in Northamptonshire*, friendly. And I declare to you, that I have given Christ and St. Peter in Westminster, Roteland, and all that belongeth thereto, with a power to try causes, and a franchise, and a right to take toll, and the offspring of the bondmen, and in all things so fully and largely as I myself was possessed of there. And I grant that the lady Eadgith possess it as long as she liveth, and‡ . . . . . that monastery be endowed with it. God keep you.

No. II.

E Johanis Mabillonii veterum Analectorm, tom. i. pag. 219.

Willelmi Anglorum Regis Epistola ad Johannem Abbatem Fiscamnensem.

W. Rex Anglorum Johanni abbati salutem. Diu mecum cogitavi, mi dilecte, in cujus manu & custodia possem mittere & commendare abbatiam sancti Petri de Westmonasterio: quia in maxima veneratione & habeo & ex debito habere debeo. Ibi enim jacet vir beatæ memoriæ dominus meus rex Ethwardus; ibi etiam tumulata est regina Etgith uxor ejus inclita: ego etiam ibidem, Dei clementia providente, sceptrum & coronam totius regni Anglici suscepi. Tandem, consilio Lanfranni archiepiscopi, me-

* *Rutland*, in the Confessor's time, was a part of *Northamptonshire*; not a county of itself.

‡ . . . . . the original is sullied, and a word or two not to be read.

orumque procerum, Vitalem abbatem, quamvis invitum, ad hoc coegi ut illam assumeret. Cum enim abbatiam de Bernaco ex minimo multum, ut patet, sublimaverit; intellexi illum dignum esse abbatiâ de Westmonasterio, & utilitate & prudentia. Quapropter liceat mihi istud fieri, quod de eo communi consilio meorum providi procerum, licentia tua & bona voluntate & conventus fratrum. Volo etiam tibi notum esse me elegisse Osbernum, fratrem scilicet Vitalis abbatis, ut habeat abbatiam de Bernaco: & hoc tuâ licentiâ mihi fieri liceat. Vale.

No. III.

E Laertii Cherubini Bullario, vol. i. page 23.

Canonizatio S. Edwardi Regis Angliæ, ejusque ascriptio in numerum Sanctorum Confessorum. Hujus Sancti Festum agitur die 5 Januarii.*

Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ac dilectis filiis, abbatibus, prioribus, aliisque ecclesiarum prælatis per Angliam constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Illius devotionis constantiam et fidei firmitatem, quam circa matrem vestram Sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam exhibetis, diligentius attendentes, in id propositum voluntatis adducimur, ut vos sicut charissimos fratres, et speciales ecclesiæ filios, syncera charitate in domino diligamus, propensius honoremus, et postulationes vestras, quantum cum Deo possumus, libenti animo admittamus.

§ 1. Inde utique fuit, quod super petitione, quam de Edvardo glorioso quondam rege Anglorum, canonizando et in Sanctorum cathalogo ascribendo, tam charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus, illustris Anglorum rex, quam vos ipsi nobis instantius porrexistis, solicitam cum fratribus nostris deliberationem habentes, libro miraculorum inspecto, quæ dum in carne mortali viveret, et postquam de presenti sæculo est assumptus, omnipotens Dominus per suam misericordiam declaravit. Visis etiam literis antecessoris nostri piæ recordationis Innocentii papæ, vestris quoque testimoniis inde receptis; quamvis negotium tam arduum et sublime, non frequenter soleat, nisi in solemnibus conciliis de more concedi.

2. De communi tamen fratrum nostrorum consilio, juxta votum et desiderium prædicti filii nostri regis, ac vestrum corpus ipsius Confessoris ita glorificandum censuimus, et debitis præconiis honorandum in terris, sicut eundem Confessorem Dominus per suam gratiam glorificavit in cœlis. Unde videlicet inter Sanctos Confessoris de cætero numeretur, qui hoc ipsum apud Deum signis meruit ac virtutibus obtinere.

3. Quia igitur decet honestatis vestræ prudentiam eum pie colere et toto studio venerari, quem auctoritate apostolica venerandum vestra postulavit devotio et colendum,

* Edita A. D. 1161.

universitatem vestram per apostolica scripta monemus et exhortamur in Domino, quatenus eum ita deinceps studeatis debitis obsequiis honorare, ut ipsius intercessionibus apud districtum judicem mereamini veniam obtinere, et gloriosam in æterna beatitudine præmium invenire.

Dat. Anagniæ 7 Idus Februarii.

No. IV.

From a Writing in the Hand of that Time in the Archives of the Church.

Summa custos operationum Westminst. ab inceptione earundem usque in die dominica proxima post festum Divi Michaelis, anno regni regis Henrici xlv^to^. Et cclx. libræ restant solvendæ pro stipendiis alborum scissorum et minutorum operariorum et pro franca petra et calce et aliis emptionibus, quæ non compotantur in hac summa,

xxix millia. cccxlv l. xix s. viii d.

No. V.

From the Niger Quaternus, folio 137.

Part of a Verdict of a Jury in the Cause of Visiting the Hospital of St. James Westmins in the sixteenth Year of King Edward III.

Item dicunt, quod dictum hospitale primo fundatum est de duobus hidis terræ cum pertinentiis in villa Westminst. infra parochiam Sanctæ Margaretæ supradictæ per quosdam cives London. tenentes dicti abbatis, ante tempus memoriæ, quorum nomina ignorantur. Quæ quidem terræ et tenementa tenentur de prædicto abbate per fidelitatem et sectam ad curiam suam apud Westm. de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas, et per servicium septem solidorum et octo denariorum per annum.—Et fundatum fuit dictum hospitale primo super quatuordecim sorores puellas leprosas caste et honeste in divino servicio vivend.—Item dicunt, quod postea diversi homines London. quorum nomina ignorant, legaverunt dictis sororibus post fundationem dicti hospitalis, in London. lvi l. redditus; quem redditum tenent de domino rege, sicut alii tenentes ejusdem civitatis tenent.—Et tunc temporis ordinati fuerunt per eosdem cives London. octo fratres, quorum sex erant capellani, et duo laici, pro divinis serviciis et aliis eisdem sororibus in dicto hospitali faciendo et ministrando. Item postea diversi tenentes nuper abbatis Westminst. dederunt dicto hospitali quatuor hidas terræ in campo Westminst. quæ tenentur de prædicto abbate per servicium xx s. per annum. Item in Hendon, Caldecote, et Hampstede iiii^xx^ acræ terræ et bosci tenentur de prædicto abbate per servicium xl s. per annum. Et per quem vel per quos datæ fuerunt ignorant. Summa valoris prædictarum terrarum valet in omnibus exitibus per annum x. marcæ.

No. VI.

From the Probate or Copy in the Archives.

Universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas sive presens transumptum inspecturis Robertus de Swardeby clericus Eboracensis diocesis, bacallarius in decretis ac publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarius, salutem in auctore salutis, et presentibus fidem indubiam adhibere. Noverit universitas vestra, quod testamentum inferius transcriptum in mei et testium infra scriptorum presentia per venerabilem et circumspectum virum magistrum Thomam de Southam executorem in eodem testamento nominatum exhibitum, non cancellatum nec suspectum, sed omni carens suspicione sinistra per magistrum Petrum de Nascia notarium publicum subscriptum et ejus signo signatum, vidi et inspexi in hæc verba.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo quinto, Indictione xiii^ma^. Mensis Junii die xxviii. Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri, Domini Gregorii divina providentia papæ undecimi anno quinto. Ego Symon episcopus Penestrinus, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalis sanus mente, licet aliqualiter languens corpore, condo Testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam Deo et Collegio omnium sanctorum; et corpus meum ad deponendum in nova ecclesia monasterii Boni passus ordinis Carthusiensis, Cavallicensis diocesis, et ad sepeliendum in monasterio Westmonasterii juxta London. in Anglia ordinis Sancti Benedicti. Item Domino nostro papæ Gregorio moderno, præter duos annulos meliores sibi debitos, lego unam crucem parvam ornatam lapidibus preciosis. Item lego Domino meo Pampelonensi cardinali unum annulum meliorem post dictos duos annulos domino nostro papæ debitos, et unum ciphum deauratum cum cooperculo ejusdem formæ, et palafredum album. Item lego domino meo de Agrifolio cardinali quartum annulum meliorem post prædictos tres annulos, et unum ciphum deauratum cum cooperculo ejusdem formæ, et palafredum Bay vocatum Albon. et unum librum novum de potestate ecclesiæ coopertum de viridi. Item pro exequiis funeralibus faciendis, videlicet pro cera et nigris pannis ac distributione pauperibus in die sepulturæ meæ, lego mille quingentos florenos cameræ. Item lego quatuor ordinibus fratrum Mendicantium in Avinione, viz. Prædicatorum, Minorum Carmelitarum, et Augustiniensium, cuilibet ordini centum florenos cameræ, ad celebrandum et orandum pro anima mea. Item lego fabricæ ecclesiæ Sancti Anthonii in Avinione centum florenos cameræ, ita quod nichil plus petant nec vendicent ratione sepulturæ meæ. Item lego monialibus Sanctæ Katherinæ in Avinione xl florenos cameræ. Item lego monialibus Sancti Laurentii in Avinione xl florenos cameræ. Item lego monialibus Sanctæ Claræ in Avinione xx florenos cameræ. Item monialibus in vico de la Masse in Avinione xx florenos cameræ. Item Repentinis xx florenos cameræ. Item hospitalibus pauperum in Avinione usque ad xx inclusive in numero cuilibet xl florenos cameræ, ad distribuendum inter pauperes in eisdem infirmos. Item Leprosariæ extra muros Avinionis ad distribuendum inter

leprosos xl florenos cameræ. Item lego domino Adæ de Eston monacho Norwicensi, sacræ paginæ professori, ducentos florenos cameræ, et meliorem lectum meum cum cooperculo de variis purato, item ciphum deauratum de opere Calicis, de quo solebam potare cum cooperculo ejusdem, ita quod nichil aliud vendicet ratione alicujus promissionis vel laboris. Item lego magistro Thomæ Southam auditori meo c florenos cameræ et palafredum vocatum Balle. Item Ricardo Croxton camerario meo lxxx florenos cameræ. Item domino Johanni Boukenhull monacho Westmonasterii pro expensis suis cl florenos cameræ. Item magistro Petro medico meo lx florenos cameræ. Item domino Henrico Croydon monacho Cantuariensi cl florenos cameræ. Item Rogero Weston magistro aulæ meæ lx florenos cameræ. Item Domino Johanni Morice comparatori meo lxxx florenos cameræ. Item Domino Rogero buticulario meo lx florenos cameræ. Item dominis Philippo, Johanni, et Jacobo, monachis capellæ meæ, cuilibet xxx florenos comeræ. Item Petro de Nascia notario meo, et Johanni du Trisere presbytero, cuilibet xl florenos cameræ. Item Guisberto de Beert clerico capellæ meæ et Hannocmo cubiculario meo cuilibet xx florenos cameræ. Item dominis Philippo et Willelmo presbyteris cuilibet xx florenos cameræ. Item Johanni Adwende scutifero meo de camera lxxx florenos cameræ. Item Roberto Rodeschawe scutifero, et Willelmo barbitonsori meo, cuilibet xl florenos cameræ. Item Willelmo Ondel, Johanni Sancti Martini, ac Johanni de Flandria, scutiferis meis, cuilibet xxx florenos cameræ. Item Johanni Lovechild palefrenario, Thomæ butticulario et Willelmo portario, cuilibet xv florenos cameræ. Item Gossvyno coco et Roberto pannetario cuilibet xx florenos cameræ. Item cuilibet garcionum meorum xv florenos cameræ. Et si aliquis prædictorum servitorum meorum aliquid vendicet seu petat ultra prædicta legata ratione alicujus promissionis, servicii, consuetudinis, seu laboris, volo et ordino, quod excludatur ab exactione et petitione legatorum præmissorum. Item lego ecclesia Penestrinæ ducentos florenos cameræ. Item lego ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis vestimentum album integrum melius cum capis. Item lego ecclesiæ Elyensi vestimentum viride integrum cum capis pertinentibus. Item pro officio et solemnitate Sancti Thomæ Cantuariensis in curia lego unum vestimentum rubeum integrum cum capa. Item lego ecclesiæ Lincolniensi unam capam de blueto blavio cum delphinis. Item lego parochiali ecclesiæ de Langham Lincolniensis diocesis, unam vestimentum de plunket cum altari ejusdem sectæ. Item monasterio monialium de Kelbourne Londoniensis diocesis, lego unum vestimentum viride cum tunica et dalmatica quod erat cōe. in capella. Item conventui monachorum Boni Passus ordinis Cartusiensis Cavallacensis diocesis, lego duas planetas albas, et unam planetam de camacha, et unam planetas de parva capella de blavio et viridi mixtam cum albis stolis et favonibus pertinentibus. Item lego fabricæ ecclesiæ sive monasterii Boni Passus prædicti mille florenos cameræ. Item lego fabricæ monasterii monialium tituli mei Sancti Sixti in Roma centum florenos cameræ. Item lego fabricæ hospitalis Sancti Thomæ Cantuariensis in Roma et pauperibus ibidem, centum florenos cameræ. Item lego fabricæ ecclesiarum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli in Roma cuilibet centum florenos cameræ. Item lego fabricæ ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis Lateranensis in Roma centum florenos cameræ.

Item pro presbyteris celebraturis pro anima domini Thomæ de Paxton lego ducentos florenos. Item pro presbyteris celebraturis pro anima mea et animabus patris et matris meæ et parentum et omnium fidelium defunctorum, quo citius fieri poterit post mortem meam, lego mille florenos cameræ. Item lego fabricæ ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ Avinion centum florenos cameræ. Item lego ecclesiæ Sancti Petri in Avinione Missale novum de usu curiæ Romanæ. De residuo vero omnium rerum et bonorum meorum ubicunque reperta fuerint dispono et ordino per modum qui sequitur, videlicet quod omnia bona mea in vassela argentea sive deaurata, sive in pecunia numerata consistant, necnon vestimenta omnia ad divina officia deputata, non legata ac paramenta capellarum mearum et libros omnes et singulos, pannos aureos et deauratos et aurifrizata quæcunque mitram quoque et signacula crucis deaurata et alia jocalia omnia, annulis exceptis, lego fabricæ monasterii Westmonasterii prope Londoniam in Anglia. Volo in super ordino et dispono, quod lecti mei non legati, ac paramenta pro cameris meis, sive in cussinis sive aliis paramentis consistant, quibuscunque ac robæ meæ pro corpore meo, necnon equi stabuli mei de quibus non est dispositum vendantur; et distribuatur pretium eorundem pauperibus pro anima mea juxta ordinationem executorum meorum. Item fructus capelli mei venturos post mortem meam lego ad distribuendum pauperibus pro anima mea juxta ordinationem executorum meorum. Volo etiam quod vasella coquinæ vendantur, et distribuatur pretium pauperibus secundum ordinationem executorum meorum. De fructibus beneficiorum meorum in Anglia, qui tempore mortis meæ non fuerint recollecti, et qui remanebunt mihi post mortem meam, ita ordino et dispono, videlicet, quod de illis fructibus satisfaciant executores mei cameræ apostolicæ, si aliquid petatur. Et etiam pro reparationibus defectuum ædificiorum dictorum beneficiorum qui tempore meo contigerent, satisfaciant de eisdem executores mei prefati, et distribuant inter pauperes in dictis beneficiis commorantes de fructibus prædictis juxta arbitrium eorum. Residuum vero dictorum fructuum et omnia alia bona mea quæcunque et qualiacunque, ubicunque reperta fuerint, lego fabricæ monasterii Westmonasterii predicti. Ad prædicta omnia et singula exequenda et executioni debite demandanda, executores meos constituo, ordino et dispono, videlicet reverendissimos patres dominos Pampilonensem et de Agrifolio cardinales, dominos Nicholaum abbatum Westmonasterii juxta London. in Anglia, Adam de Eston monachum Norwicensem, sacræ paginæ professorem, Laurentium alt. monachum de Batayle, p marium nationis Anglicanæ in sic curiâ, Thomam de Southam archdiaconum Oxon auditorem meum, Willelmum Palmer canonicum Derbye, et Johannem Boukenhull monachum monasterii Westmonasterii predicti. Quibus quidem executoribus meis et eorum cuilibet in solidum dono et concedo liberam et plenam potestatem, licentiam, auctoritatem, ac etiam generale et speciale mandatum, prædicta omnia et singula exequendi, compellendi, faciendi, exercendi, ac etiam pro dictâ meâ executione, et omnibus et singulis supradictis, compellendi et perficiendi et exequendi dono et concedo dictis executoribus meis conjunctim et divisim, et eorum cuilibet in solidum, plenam et liberam potestatem et mandatum generale et speciale agendi, defendendi coram quibuscunque judicibus ordinariis sive delegatis, lites contestandi, juramentum de calumpnia, et veritate dicendi, et cujus-

libet alterius generis juramentum præstandi, libellum, seu libellos, et summariam petitionem dandi et recipiendi, testes et instrumenta et quælibet alia genera probationum, producendi, exequendi, replicandi, testes jurare videndi, crimina et defectus opponendi, concludendi, sententias interlocutorias et deffinitivas ferri, petendi et audiendi, provocandi et appellandi, provocationibus et appellationibus causas prosequendi, et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendi, exercendi, quæ circa præmissa, seu aliquod præmissorum necessaria fuerint, seu opportuna, et quæ ego facere possem et exercere, si viverem. Hoc est autem meum ultimum testamentum et mea ultima voluntas, quod et quam valere volo jure testamenti; et si valere non possit jure testamenti, volo quod valeat jure condicillorum, seu alterius cujuslibet ultimæ voluntatis; et aliter volo quod valeat eo meliori modo jure et forma, quibus melius de jure valere poterit et debibit. Volo etiam hoc testamentum sive ultimam meam voluntatem aliis testamentis sive ultimis meis voluntatibus antea factis prævalere, et per ista aliis antefactis totaliter derogari. In quorum omnium et singulorum testimonium præsens testamentum seu meam ultimam voluntatem, auctoritate Apostolica mihi in hac parte concessa factum seu factam, seu publicum instrumentum testamentum meum seu ultimam voluntatem in se continens per ᵛPetrum de Nascia notarium publicum, scribamque meum infra^{tum} subscribi et publicari mandavi, et mei sigilli appendice muniri. Datum et actum Avinione in domo habitationis dicti domini Cardinalis, in camera in qua solebat communiter dormire, sub anno, indictione, mense, die et pontifiacatu prædictis, presentibus venerabilibus viris, magistris Adam. de Eston monacho Norwicensi, sacræ paginæ professore, Thoma de Southam archdiacono Oxon. in ecclesia Lincoln. in legibus licenciato, Petro Elicii clerico, in medicina licenciato, Johanne Attewode domicello, et Johanne Symonis clerico, Trajectensis, Cicestrensis et Cameracensis diocesiam, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Et ego Petrus de Nascia clericus Cameracensis diocesis, publicus auctoritate, Apostolica notarius, necnon præfati domini Penestrini cardinalis scriba prædicti testamenti seu ultimæ voluntatis, ordinationi, constitutioni et omnibus aliis et singulis, dum sic ut præmittitur per dictum dominum cardinalem agerentur et fierent, una cum prænominatis testibus, sub anno, indictione, mense, die, pontificatu, et loco prædictis presens interfui; eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi, ac in notam recepi, et in hanc publicam formam de mandato ipsius domini cardinalis redegi, scripsi, publicavi, ac signo meo solito una cum appendice sigilli dicti domini cardinalis signavi, rogatus et requisitus, in testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum. Acta sunt hæc Avinione in domo habitationis ipsius magistri Thomæ de Southam prope nostram Dominam de Miraculis situata, anno a natali Domini millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo septimo, indictione xv. pontificatus sanctissimi patris et domini nostri domini Gregorii divina providentia papæ undecimi anno septimo, mense Augusti, die xiiii, presentibus religiosis et discretis viris, dominis Willelmo de Colchester et Johanne Farnyngho monachis monasterii Westmonasterii, ordinis Sancti Benedicti prope London. et Johanne Kentyf clerico Sarum, ac Gerardo Suschide clerico monasteriensis diocesium, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

No. VII. *Archives.*

In Dei nomine, Amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo septimo, indictione prima, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Pauli divina providentia papæ secundi anno quarto, mensis vero Novembris die vicesimo quarto. In quadam bassa parlura ex parte australi infirmariæ exempti monasterii Westmonasterii London. diocesis, meique notarii publici subscripti et testium inferius descriptorum præsentia personaliter constituti fuerunt venerabilis pater dominus Georgius ejusdem monasterii abbas, ac pro parte conventus ejusdem monasterii religiosi viri, magister Thomas Millyng sacræ Theologiæ professor, ejusdem monasterii prior, et fratres Richardus Braynt, Richardus Teddyngton, Johannes Amesham, Willelmus Chertsey, Thomas Arundel, Johannes Esteney, Thomas Frampton, Willelmus Chynner, Willelmus Wicumbe, Thomas Crosse, et Richardus Westmynster dicti monasterii commonachi, inter quos abbatem et commonachos tunc ibidem ostensæ fuerunt duæ cedulæ, una videlicet supplicationis sive desiderationis pro parte dicti conventus præfato abbati factæ, et alia cedula continens in se notam et formam commissionis per eundem abbatem prænominatis priori ac fratribus Willelmo Chertsey et Johannis Esteney faciendæ. Et tunc super contentis in præfatis cedulis inter eosdem abbatem et commonachos aliquali communicatione præhabita, idem dominus abbas volens, ut asseruit, relevare dictum monasterium ab onere æris alieni, consentientes et annuebat votis, supplicationibus et desideriis monachorum dicti monasterii in præfata supplicationis sive desiderationis cedula descriptis: ac promisit idem dominus abbas, atque tactis per eum sacrosanctis Dei Evangeliis ad ea juravit se observaturum et perimpleturum omnia et singula in præfata cedula supplicationis sive desiderationis descripta, quatenus ea ipsum concernebant, omniaque et singula in eadem cedula per dictos monachos desiderata. Et quod ipse commissionem secundum formam in alia cedula prædicta descriptam præfatis priori et fratribus Willelmo Chertsey et Johanni Esteney cum effectu faceret, et ipsos ipsius abbatis commissarios deputaret. Et si acciderit aliquem de dictis fratribus, qui sic deputati fuerunt commissarii, decedere in futurum, vel a commissariatu hujusmodi recedere, seu ab eo amoveri, quod tunc dictus dominus abbas, quotiens et quando hoc imposterum contigerit, alterum dicti monasterii monachum ad nominationem prioris et seniorum monachorum dicti monasterii loco ipsius sic decedentis, recedentis vel remoti, sub simili forma sicut in dicta cedula formæ commissionis notatur, subrogaret, deputaret, ordinaretque, et crearet. Tenor vero dictæ cedulæ supplicationis sive desiderationis. In cujus quidem cedulæ fine nomina dictorum, Thomæ Millyng doctoris, prioris Richardi Braynt, Richardi Teddyngton, et aliorum commonachorum, superius cum eis nominatorum, subscripta fuerunt, sequitur, et est talis. Supplicitter exposcimus omnes subscripti filii vestri, quatenus pie considerare velitis, in quantâ et quam magnâ pecuniarum summâ ecclesia est provobis per sigillum conventus indebitata, præter et alia ea debita, quæ modo certis creditoribus persoluta sunt, quæ extendunt se ad novies centum triginta tres libras, sex solidos et octo

denarios, nam præter omnia ista debentur adhuc per sigilla conventus duo millia trecentæ et quinquaginta marcæ, præter ipsas pecunias, quæ debentur Johanni Randolf per sigillum vestrum proprium, scilicet centum quinque libras, et præter octoginta libras debitas magistro Johanni Wardall super cautione calicis de auro, qui extractus erat a vestibulo per Dompnum Thomam Ruston tunc officiarium ibi absque consensu prioris et seniorum, et præter octoginta libras debitas Johanni Randolf de excessu suo, prout patet in pede compoti sui, et præter sexaginta libras debitas Roberto Drope ex penalitate pro defectu solutionum, et præter omnia implementa pertinentia monasterio assignata vobis et succedentibus abatibus ponderantia septies centum decem et septem uncias, ut patet per billam de parcellis eorundem; quæ quidem unciæ appretiando unciam ad tres solidos, extendunt se in valore ad centum septem libras undecim solidos: summa totalis istius debiti de quo sumus cincti* extendit se ad tria millia triginta septem marcas, sex solidos et octo denarios. Et præter ista creduntur alia esse debita, quæ debentur certis creditoribus, ut David Celly viginti libræ, Johanni Dymmok Freston viginti libræ ad minus, et Frowyk decem libræ. Sic patet, quod debita quæ debentur ad huc magna sunt, et ea, quæ juvarent ad contentanda ista debita, dissipata sunt et vendita, ut boscum apud Denham et Lalham et prope Wigorniam, et in aliis locis. Similiter staurum manerii de Lalham venditum est, et super hæc omnia portio vestra de novo orneratur de feodo decem librarum annuatim solutarum Johanni Randolf, et de quadraginta solidis domino Johanni Grevyll militi, et de quadraginta solidis concessis Thorkmorton, et de sex libris tresdecim solidis et quatuor denariis concessis Roberto Drope per sigillum vestrum proprium ad terminum vitæ; et de quadraginta solidis concessis Johanni Anne. Quibus omnibus bene consideratis, placeat paternitati vestræ filiorum condescendere desideriis, quæ, velut speramus, et firmiter intendimus, erunt ad vestrum singulare proficuum et præcipuum bonum, et ad non parvum commodum totius monasterii et omnium nostrum. In primis, ut debita vestra ocius solvantur, et vos in honore debito vivere possitis, desideramus unanimiter vos hospitari extra monasterium Westmonasterii in aliquo monasterio venerabili, cum capellano et paucis servientibus in domo et familia propria, quia, si maneretis apud Pirford, haberetis nimium concursum extraneorum et generosorum ad magnas et sumptuosas expensas. Et non displiceat paternitati vestræ, quod incitamus et monemus vos ad talia: nam abbas de Bury sic fecit jam nuper hospitando apud Bermundsey, et plures alii patres fecerunt ante hæc tempora, viventes per certum spatium sub voluntariâ parcimoniâ ad magnam laudem ipsorum atque profectum. Præterea desideramus quod constituatis vel quatuor commissarios per scriptum auctenticum, qui commissarii cum consilio maturo seniorum omnium negotia monasterii tractabunt in absentia vestra, prout viderint melius expediri, proviso semper quod Dompnus Thomas Ruston non sit aliquis de commissariis. Insuper summo cum effectu rogamus et desideramus quod de cetero non mutuemini ultra, nec indebitetis vos vel ecclesiam aliquo modo, vel ratione alicujus debiti novi. Preterea, de-

* cti.

sideratum est quod non retinebitis in manibus vestris aliquod manerium, neque proventus alicujus manerii, sive de proventibus curiarum, vel de venditione bosci, vel stauri, vel alicujus alterius proficui sive redditus, sed omnia relinquantur arbitrio commissariorum vestrorum; et quod receptor vester faciat compotum suum coram priore et commissariis, ut possit illis constare, quomoda debita persolvuntur. Item, desideratum est quod non veniatis redeundo ad monasterium Westmonasterii ante contentationem plenariam debitorum vestrorum, nisi fuerit urgens causa, pro qua missus erit nuncius, aut nisi rex miserit pro vobis per privatum sigillum ad aliquod parliamentum sive consilium, quia vester adventus onerosus est officiariis, ut concipitur. Item, desideratum est quod consideretis bene compositionem, secundum quam tenemini defendere omnia placita monasterii tam pro parte vestra quam etiam pro parte nostra: non tamen amplius desideramus, nisi quod defendatis partem vestram propriam, et quod patiamini nos defendere partem nostram, et quod justificetis nos in placitis nostris, et quod non impediatis priorem et seniores in aliquo de quo inter se convenerint pro bono monasterii. Item, desideratum est, quod omnia forisfacta et amerciamenta, sive infra sanctuarium, sive extra in villa, recipiantur per aliquem fidelim ad contentationem debitorum vestrorum. Item, quod provideatur aliquod stipendium pro custode convictorum, et etiam pro victu ipsorum, ita quod custos non percipiat ultra de portione nostra in pane et cerevisia, sicut modo percipit, et prius ad tempus percepit. Item, quod fiat melior provisio pro tribus officiis, quæ modo sunt in manibus Dompni Thomæ Ruston, scilicet pro officio novi operis, officio Celerarii et officio Sacristæ, ita quod idem Dompnus Thomas Ruston sit sequestratus, et amotus ab omnibus et singulis officiis prædictis, cujus negligentiâ ut concipitur omnia officia prædicta sunt in magno decasu. Item, quod Celerarius fiat per electionem, sicut antiquitus fieri consuevit, et sicut Ballivus, Custos maneorum et scholares adhuc modo fiunt. Item, quod non ultra percipiatis aliquid de officio Celerarii in cerevisia, neque de distributione in anniversariis regum et reginarum, quia est contra juramentum vestrum, sed eritis contenti cum portione et pensione vestra. Item, quod non revocetis aliquid in curia archidiaconi in manus vestras, sed quod fiat justitia per officiarium contra quemcunque, et quod non pardonetis amerciamenta, nec aliquod forisfactum. Item, quod de cetero non presentetur ad aliquod beneficium, vel jus presentandi alicui concedatur, antequam contigerit illud beneficium vacare, neque tunc nisi sub Sigillo conventus. Item, quod singuli officiarii, priore excepto, deputentur et removeantur ab officiis per dictos commissarios secundum consilium seniorum per ipsos commissarios ad hoc convocandorum. Item, desideratum est quod acceptetis pro pensione vestra, et sitis contenti cum summa centum marcarum annuatim solvendarum, per manus receptoris vestri, vel alterius vice sua; quam quidem summam centum marcarum recipietis in pecuniis numeratis ad quatuor anni terminos, videlicet quolibet termino viginti quinq. marcas. Item, desideratum est, quod Dompnus Thomas Ruston respondëat ad sex, vel septem capas diversi coloris deperditas a vestibulo, eo tempore, quo ipse erat custos istius domus. Item desideratum est, quod si visum fuerit bonum, per dictos commissarios et seniores monasterii, quod fiat nova compositio inter abbatem et conventum, et portiones

eorundem, quod sive durante tempore absentiæ vestræ, sive postea post restaurationem vestram, condescendatis et consentiatis tali compositioni de novo fiendæ per priorem et seniores absque perpetua diminutione portionis vestræ, seu conventus. Item, desideratum est quod Dompnus Thomas Ruston intimet in scriptis in proximo compoto suo omnia debita sua in quibus indebitatus est, quia putatur, quod ecclesia supportabit onera magna et multa pro debitis ejus: et etiam desideratum est, quod singula officiarii alii faciant idem, viz. unusquisque officiarius in compoto suo. Item, desideratum est, quod observetis omnia prius recitata sub juramento. Ita quod non temptetis facere contra premissa, vel subsequentia, ad mutandum, destruendum, vel annullandum aliquem articulum promissum vel subsequentem, vel partem alicujus articuli, aliquo labore vel medio quocunque, nec per vos, nec per alium vel alios, nec veniatis ad monasterium Westmonasterii nisi sub ea forma qua permittitur, nec equitetis ad generalia capitula, neque circa visitationes, neque arripiatis aliqua itinera sumptuosa, quæ essent vobis causa novæ indebitationis; et quod commissarii vestri, de quibus recitatum est prius, habeant plenariam potestatem vestram tam in spiritualibus, quam in temporalibus et in omnibus quæ ad jura monasterii pertinent, tam infra quam extra, tam circa officiarios deputandos vel removendos quam in conferendis donis, feodis et regardis, prout viderint melius expediri. Ita quod omnia ista et alia quæcunque recitata prius firmiter observentur sub juramento præstito coram notario et testibus, qui et omnia ista reducet in formam publicam, sub instrumento signato signo suo consueto. Ita quod omnia et singula præscripta firmiter observentur, quousque debita vestra persoluta fuerint. Thomas Millyng doctor prior. Richardus Breynt, Richardus Teddyngton, Johannes Amesham, Willelmus Chertsey, Thomas Arundel, Johannes Esteney, Thomas Frampton, Willelmus Chynner, Willelmus Wycumbe, Thomas Crosse, Richardus Westmynster.— Tenor vero dictæ cedulæ formæ commissionis sequitur in hunc modum: Georgius permissione divino abbas monasterii Sancti Petri Westmonasterii London. diocesis, sedi apostolicæ immediate subjecti, dilectis nostris confratribus, magistro Thomæ Millyng sacræ theologiæ professori, ejusdem monasterii priori, ac fratibus Willelmo Chertsey et Johanni Esteney ejusdem loci commonachis, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Ad regendum et gubernandum dictum monasterium nomine nostro et pro nobis, ac singulas personas ejusdem, necnon ad ministrandum in spiritualibus et temporalibus ejusdem monasterii, disponendumque de eisdem, ac ad exercendum omnimodam curam, regimen, administrationem et facultatem nobis ratione dignitatis nostræ abbathialis qualitercunque pertinentia, vobis tribus et vestrum duobus conjunctim, quorum vos, priorem, semper unum esse volumus, vices nostras, ac plenam, liberam et generalem potestatem committimus, ac mandatum speciale damus et concedimus per presentes, donec et quousque præfatum monasterium ab omni debito per nos, seu Edmundum predecessorem nostrum causato, penitus liberatum fuerit, absque aliqua revocatione tacita vel expressa duraturas, promittentes nos ratum, gratum et firmum perpetuo habituros totum et quicquid per vos seu duos vestrum, sic quod vos, prior, unus semper sitis de eisdem, actum, factum, sive gestum fuerit in præmissis vel aliqus præmissorum. In quorum

omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium præmissorum sigillum nostrum presentibus apposuimus. Dat. Super quibus omnibus præmissis dictus Dominus Georgius abbas requisivit me notarium publicum subscriptum conficere unum vel plura, publicum vel publica instrumentum vel instrumenta. Acta fuerunt hæc omnia et singula, prout superscribuntur et recitantur, sub anno Domini, indictione, pontificatu, mense, die et loco superius in capite presentis instrumenti descriptis. Presentibus tunc ibidem discretis viris magistro Johanne Wardall legum doctore, London. ecclesiæ canonico, et Domino Willelmo Stokys presbytero Lincoln. diocesis, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et ego Willelmus Dabeney clericus civitatis Coventriensis publicus auctoritatibus apostolica et imperiali notarius, etc.

No. VIII.

Beatissime pater. Post humillimam commendationem et pedum oscula beatorum, non arbitramur beatitudinem vestram immemorem esse frequentium ad eandem literarum nostrarum, quibus devotissimum cœnobium Westmonasterii tantopere commendavimus vestræ sanctitati, et novissime quidem venerabili patri Johanni abbati Abyndoniæ cum istic oratoris ac procuratoris nostri officio fungeretur, ejusdem monasterii causæ curam commisimus, quatenus apud eandem sanctitatem nostris verbis precibusque insisteret irreparabilibus dampnis, quibus ob crebriorem solito abbatialis dignitatis ibidem vocationem ultra vires affligitur, et de Apostolicæ sedis benignitate salubriter provideretur; quibus nichilominus precibus, intercessionibusque nostris in ea parte minime satisfactum esse comperimus. Qua ex re ad vos preces utinam prioribus efficaciores impellimur. Ut non jam labenti, sed pene lapso ac extremam ruinam meditanti monasterio Apostolica sedes succurrere dignetur. Summa rei hæc est. Antiquissimum ac devotissimum cœnobium est Westmonasterium a majoribus nostris olim fundatum : a beatissimo Petro Apostolo dictæ abbatiæ patrono dedicatum, ac sepulchro sanctissimi Edwardi Regis Angliæ et Confessoris insignitum. Quod quidem monasterium etsi majores nostri partim construxerunt, et id pene totum vetustate ipsa consumptum est, majorem tamen ecclesiæ partem inconstructam reliquerunt, quamque in hos usque dies monasterii inopia construere vetuit, idque non modo malitiæ temporum et aquarum inundationi, quibus plurima monasterii prædia dissipantur, verum etiam nimiis pro confirmatione noviter electorum abbatum istic factis expensis, jure meritoque nemo est qui non ascribat. Cui nimirum dampno expensarumque profluitati nemo melius succurrere ac consulere poterit, quam vestra sanctitas. Rogamus obtestamurque vestram beatitudinem, quæ, uti confidimus, labentibus monasteriis adjutrices manus apponere parata erit, huic monasterii cœnobio in facie Anglicani orbis locato Apostolicam benignitatem gratiamque ita impertiri dignetur, ut deinceps elegendi illic abbates, eo ipso quod electi sunt, absque ulteriori a sede Apostolica confirmatione obtinenda abbates illius monasterii sint et pro talibus habeantur. Neque enim hæc res nova est, beatissime pater, quam petimus; nonnullis

equidem regni nostri monasteriis ad progenitorum nostrorum devotas preces per Apostolicam sedem id ipsum similiter indultum est, quæ tamen tanta neque tunc, ut credimus, neque nunc, ut scimus, inopia laborant. Non putamus majoris apud vestros sanctissimos predecessores ponderis illorum preces fuisse, quam nostras apud vestram sanctitatem, neque certe paratiores et illi ad Apostolicæ sedis obsequia fuere quam nos, qui ejus obsequiis nos devovimus. Itaque ut pari nos gratia in ista Westmonasterii causa prosequi dignetur Sanctitas vestra etiam atque etiam rogamus supplicamusque. Erit id nobis omnium gratissimum, augebitque non parum Angligenarum in vestram et Apostolicam sedem devotionem. Istius negotii sollicitationem dilecto nobis Johanni de Gezena commisimus, cui in dicendis fidem, facilem aditum, auditumque importiri dignetur Sanctitas vestra, cui nos et istud negotium plurimum commendamus, quæque diu ac feliciter vivat et valeat. Ex opidulo nostro Grenewici x^to^ calendas Junias A. LXXVIII.

Sanctissimo in Christo patri ac domino Sixto, divina providentia sacrosanctæ Romanæ ac universalis ecclesiæ summo pontifici.

Another Letter from the King concerning the same matter, and of the same date, was written to William, Cardinal of Rohan, and Bishop of Ostia.

SIXTUS episcopus, servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Inter curas multiplices, quibus ex commissi nobis pastoralis officii debito continue obsidemur, illam voluntarie amplectimur per quam nostræ provisionis ministerio monasteria singula, præcipue Romanæ ecclesiæ immediate subjecta, illisque presidentes, ac aliæ in eis degentes personæ a laborum et expensarum oneribus valeant sublevari. Sane pro parte dilectorum filiorum abbatis et conventus monasterii Westmonasterii ad præfatum ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentis ordinis Sancti Benedicti Londoniensis diocesis nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat, quod olim pro eo quod Sancti Albani et de Waltham *prædicti* et Sancti Augustini ordinum Lincolniensis et prædictæ diocesium monasteria ad eandem ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentia a sede Apostolica tam longe distare noscebantur, quod electi temporibus tunc retroactis . . . . . pro habitis nec in in . . . . . eligendi . . . . . teriorum possent pro habendis suarum electionum confirmationibus sine magnis viarum periculis et gravi expensarum onere dictam sedem visitare, quodque eadem visitatio et alia onera eisdem monasteriis incumbentia bona et facultates Sancti Albani et de Waltham monasteriorum plurimum exhauserant et ex certis aliis causis conventibus dictorum monasteriorum a sede præfata per diversas illius literas indultum extitit. Ut omnes et singuli qui successive perpetuo . . . imp . . . in abbates dictorum monasteriorum cum vacarent per eosdem conventus pro tempore electi forent, eo ipso absque alia confirmatione essent veri abbates monasteriorum eorundem et pro talibus censerentur et haberentur, ac perinde . . . . . curam animarum gerere, necnon omnia et singula, quæ ad curam, administrationem et regimen dictorum monasteriorum pertinerent, libere et licite facere et exercere in omnibus et per omnia imperpetuum possent ac si per sedem dictam . . . . electio confirmata foret, ac etiam a quocunque mallent ca-

tholico antistite gratiam et communionem dictæ sedis habente benedici valerent. Ita tamen quod abbates eorundem monasteriorum pro tempore existentes, et dicti conventus . . . . . ginti marchas Sterlingorum et non ultra pro quolibet dictorum monasteriorum collectori fructuum et proventuum eidem cameræ debitorum in regno Angliæ pro tempore existenti annis singulis imperpetuum in certo festo tunc . . . . . tenerentur, et si in solutione hujusmodi aliquo forsan anno saltem per duos menses post lapsum hujusmodi anni, cessante impedimento legitimo, deficerent, quod ex tunc ad solutionem prædictam sine dilatione faciendam per . . . . collectorem pro tempore existentem per censuras ecclesiasticas debite compellerentur, prout in litteris prædictis plenis continetur. Cum autem sicut eadem petitio subjungebat propter præmissas causas sit admodum grave et dispendiosum abbati et conventui dicti monasterii Westmonasterii pro obtinenda confirmatione electionis pro eodem abbate pro tempore factæ ad sedem eandem accedere et eam visitare. Pro parte carissimi in Christo filii nostri Edwardi Angliæ regis illustris eorundem abbatis et conventus nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut ipsis indultum prædictum ad instar eorundem aliorum monasteriorum concedere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos itaque monasterium ipsum Westmonasterii que pro tempore abbatem ac eosdem conventum ab hujusmodi oneribus relevare volentes præfatis conventui dicti monasterii Westmonasterii. Ut omnes et singuli qui deinceps perpetuis futuris temporibus in abbates ipsius monasterii Westmonasterii cum illud vacare contigerit per illius conventum pro tempore electi fuerint, eo ipso absque alia confirmatione sint veri abbates dicti monasterii, et pro talibus censeantur et habeantur, curam animarum gerere, necnon omnia et singula, quæ ad curam, administrationem et regimen dicti monasterii Westmonasterii pertinent, libere et licite facere et exercere in omnibus et per omnia imperpetuum possint. Ac etiam a quocunque maluerint catholico antistite gratiam et cammunionem dictæ sedis habente munus benedictionis recipere valeant. Necnon eidem antistite, ut illud eis libere impendere possit, quibuscunque constitutionibus, litteris et privilegiis ac statutis et consuetudinibus monasterii et ordinis prædictorum juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, ceterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, ad instar Sancti Albani et de Waltham monasteriorum prædictorum auctoritate Apostolica tenore presentium de speciali gratia indulgemus. Volumus autem quod abbas ejusdem monasterii Westmonasterii pro tempore existens et conventus ejusdem collectori prædicto centum florenos auri de camera annis singulis in festo beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum in perpetuum solvere teneantur, et si in solutione hujusmodi aliquo forsan anno, saltem per duos menses post lapsum cujusmodi anni cessante impedimento legitimo deficerent, quod ex tunc ad solutionem prædictam sine dilatione faciendam per hujusmodi collectorem pro tempore existentem per censuras ecclesiasticas debite compellantur. Nulli ergo omnino liceat hanc paginam nostrorum indulti et voluntatis infringere vel ei ausu temerario *contraire*. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Dat. Brachani Sutrin. diocesis, anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quadringentesimo octavo, idibus Augusti . . . . . Pontificatus *nostri* anno septimo.

No. IX.

Cotton Library. Claudius. A. VIII.

O TU pastorem meritum bene plange sepultum,
Relligiosa cohors lumine nuda tuo.
Estney monasterium libris bis mille oneratum
Et septingentis, eruit ære suo.
Pontifice a summo tres annos ante statuti
Temporis obtinuit cura paterna călens,
Professos fratres sublimet et ornet, ut hujus
Ordinis atque loci presbyterale decus.
Successore novo electo, tibi, Roma, tributa
Debita sunt sumptu cuncta redempta suo:
Impensisque suis processit fabrica templi,
Cui magis idoneos qualibet arte viros
Providit, bifariaque venustat imagine templum:
Una Petri gestat, altera Pauli effigiem.
Tempestate ruta* Neet humi quasi tota jacebas,
Quæ modo clara nites, ære refecta patris.
Quid dicam plura? Si persequar omnia gesta,
Longe hiis plura suis sumptibus acta scies;
Hunc modo, quem Clotho Lachesisque trahebat ad annos†,
Eripuit paribus invidia Parca suis.
Fama tamen vivet, vivet memorabile nomen
Ejus, et æternos laus habitura dies:
Sensibus ac poni decet monimenta sub imis,
Dum Styx Ditis erit, arx Jovis alta poli.
Metra legens ores, requiescat pace Johannes:
Est ciner in cineres, tuque redactus eris.
Flebilis hæc musa non est se passa sub ista
Tempestate lyra prosperiore cani.
Tristis eram; cecini, ne tam præclara Johannis
Estney lyteis‡ gesta darentur aquis.

N. B. Besides the objections which may be made to the poetry itself in these verses, they are also written very faultily in the book from whence they are taken: several of the faults are corrected, and conjectures are offered as to others.

* *Sic, forte* ruens. † *Sic, forte* avos. ‡ Letheis.

No. X.

The Interment of the Rev. Father in God John Islip, Abbot of the Monastery of Westminster, and one of the King's Majesty's Privy Council, deceased at Westminster the twelfth Day of May, being Sunday, about four or five of the Clock at Afternoon, the Dominical Letter F. *Anno* M.D.XXXII. *the* XXIIII^th^ *Year of King Henry* VIII.

First, his corps was chested and rered, and so remained in a large parlour in the said place, which was hanged with black cloth garnished with scocheons of his arms and the monastery; the corps covered with a rich pall of cloth of gold of tisseu; and burning day and night four great tapers; with masses daily, and every night watch, until Thursday the sixteenth day about two of the clock; at which time came all the fathers of the house with the monks, and the abbot of Bury in pontificalibus, did say such ceremonies as to the same appertaineth, the space of an hour.

Then about three of the clock the corps was conveyed unto Westminster monastery, in manner following:

First, two conductors, John Gardyn̄ and William Alove, with each of them in their hands a black staff to avoid such people as would not be ordered, and to make room.

Then the cross.

Then the three orders of friers of Canterbury.

Then divers other religious persons, as the brotherhood of the * * * preist and clerk of the parish.

Then the church of St. Martin's in London.

Then the preists and clerks of St. Margaret in Westminster, with all the monks of the said monastery.

Then the abbot of St. Edmundsbury, in pontificalibus, with his assistance, in goodly rich copes.

Then gentlemen in black gowns and hoods, two and two, and his two chaplains, Dr. Dudley and Sir Robert Sheder, with others, as Dr. Shorton and Dr. Doke, and the vicar of Croiden, with divers others.

Then Richmond and Lancaster * * * in the king's cotes at arms.

Then the corps born by six of his yeomen in black coats, and other six going by to help them as they had need.

Then about the corps four assistance, Mr. Hawkes, Mr. Jude, Mr. Andro, and Mr. Docarawe, and at each corner a banner, of our Lady by John James, St. Peter's by John Sheder, St. Edmund's by William Middleton, St. Catherine's by Thomas Kemp, in black gowns and hoods on their heads.

Also two branches of white wax by two clerks in their surplesses.

Item. Afore the corps twenty-four poor men in gowns and hoods in one range, bearing twenty-four torches.

Item. About the corps twelve staff torches, born by twelve yeomen in black coats.

Then after the corps, alone, the Lord Windsor, chief mourner, with six others, two and two.

Sir Henry Wyatt, Sir Hugh Vaughan, Mr. Densell, Serjeant at law, and Mr. Baker, Recorder of London, Mr. Joyner and Mr. Tamworth, in long gowns and hoods.

Then the yeomen and farmers of the said defunct, in black coats.

Then divers other men and women of Westminster and other places, so that the train * from next until Tuttle-street, and so proceeded unto the monastery, doing such ceremonies as to the same appertaineth.

And at the entry of the said monastery the abbot of Bury, with his assistances, did receive the said corps, and so proceeded into the choir, where it was set under a goodly herse with many lights, and ma^tie and vallunce set with pencils and double banners, with forms hanged with black cloth, and garnished with scocheons of arms, and the choir likewise: and so the mourners took their places.

Then Dirige began, solemnly sung by the said monastery, and divers Dirige's done in other places of the church; which being done with the other ceremonies, the mourners, with the other, departed unto a place over the chapel of the defunct, where was prepared for them spiced bread, suckett, marmylate, spiced plate, and divers sorts of wine plenty.

And in the mean season they of the church did bury the defunct in the said chapel of his building, which was hanged with black cloth garnished with scocheons, and over his sepulture a pall of black velvet, and two candlestics with angels of silver and gilt, with two tapers thereon, and four about the corps burning still.

Then in the choir underneath the herse was made a presentation of the corps covered with a cloth of gold of tyshew, with a cross, and two white branches in candlesticks of silver and gilt; which being done, every man departed for that night.

The next day being Friday, in the morning about eight of the clock, every man did repair to the church in good order, and took their places as afore.

Then began the first mass of our Lady, sung solemnly with deacon and sub-deacon; and at the offertory the chief mourner offered a piece of gold of half a crown, ii s. vi d. assisted with the other mourners; which being done,

Then began the mass of the Twenty Song, set in like manner as afore; but at the offering the chief mourner offered a piece of gold of v s. assisted as afore; which being finished,

Then the mourners, with all the others, went in good manner to the manor-place, where was prepared for them bread and drink, as appertaineth for that day, being Friday; and this done, every man returned in good order to the church to their places appointed, and the torches *** herse; and other lights being lighted,

Then began the mass of Requiem, sung by the abbot of Bury in pontificalibus, with

* Something wanting here.

deacon and sub-deacon, and at the offertory the monks offered their oblation after the custom and manner.

Then offered the chief mourner a noble in gold, being conducted by the officers at arms, and assisted with the other mourners; and so returned back again to the herse.

Then all the mourners returned back again to offer for themselves every one a grote.

Then offered his attendants, with all other that would.

Then began the sermon by the vicar of Croyden.

Then all the other ceremonies being done and finished, with divers other masses, in his own chapel in the abbey, and parish church, with other thinge*.

Then began a great doylle given among the poor.

Then, all things finished, the lord chief mourner, with all other, went in like order as afore to the manor-place to dinner, which being done, every man took his leave, and so departed.

Then the banners were set in order in the said chapel in brasses† of iron.

The herse with all other things did remain there still, until the month's mynde.

The heralds rewarded with v^{li}, and thanks beside their gowns, and their attendants coats.

No. XI.

From the Original in the Augmentation Office.

Sursum Redditio Monasterii Westmonasteriensis.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens Carta pervenerit, Willelmus permissione divina abbas Sancti Petri Westmonasterii in comitatu Middlesexiæ, et ejusdem loci conventus, salutem. Sciatis nos præfatos abbatem et conventum unanimi assensu et consensu ac spontanea voluntate nostris, dedisse, concessisse et hac presenti Carta nostra confirmasse excellentissimo principi domino nostro Domino Henrico octavo Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regi, fidei defensori, Domino Hiberniæ, et in terra supremo capiti ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, totum prædictum monasterium nostrum, ac ecclesiam, claustrum, scitum, ambitum, circuitum et præcinctum ejusdem monasterii: necnon omnia et singula dominia, maneria, hundreda, grangias, mesuagia, terras, tenementa, prata, mariscos, pascuas, pasturas, boscos, parcos, warrennas, communias, vasta, jampna, bruerias, aquas, piscarias, redditus, reversiones, servicia, annuitates, feoda firmas, ecclesias, capellas, rectorias, vicarias, advocationes, donationes, presentationes, jura patronatus ecclesiarum, capellarum, cantariarum, et hospitalium, pensiones, portiones, decimas, oblationes, feoda militum, escaetas, relevia, curias letæ, visus franci plegii, nundinas, mercatas ac alia jura, jurisdictiones, franchesias, libertates, privilegia, possessiones et hæreditamenta nostra quæcunque tam spiritualia quam temporalia, cujuscunque sunt generis, naturæ vel speciei, seu quibus cunque nominibus sciantur, censeantur, vel cognos-

* Praying. † Braces.

cantur, scituata, jacentia vel existentia tam in comitatibus Middlesexiæ, Hertfordiæ, Essexiæ, Cantabrigiæ, Lincolniæ, Norfolciæ, Suffolciæ, Berkeriæ, Oxonii, Buckinghamiæ, Bedfordiæ, Kantii, Sussexiæ, Surriæ, Somersetiæ, Dorsetiæ, Southamptoniæ, Wiltesiæ et Gloucestriæ, ac in civitate Londoniæ, quam alibi ubicunque infra regnum Angliæ, ac in Wallia, et Marchiis eorundem. Ac etiam omnia et omnimoda ornamenta ecclesiæ, jocalia, bona et catalla, et debita nostra quæcunque, quæ in jure, ratione vel prætextu dicti monasterii nostri, seu aliter quoquo modo habemus, seu habere debemus, habenda, tenenda et gaudenda, totum prædictum monasterium ac omnia et singula prædicta dominia, maneria, terras, tenementa, redditus, reversiones, servitia, rectorias, vicarias, ecclesias, capellas, bona, catalla et cetera omnia et singula præmissa superius specificata, cum suis pertinentiis universis, præfato domino nostro regi, hæredibus et successoribus suis in perpetuum. Et nos vero prædicti abbas et conventus et successores nostri totum prædictum monasterium, ac omnia predicta dominia, maneria, terras, tenementa et cetera omnia et singula præmissa superius specificata cum pertinentiis præfato domino nostro regi, hæredibus et successoribus suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, et in perpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti cartæ nostræ sigillum nostrum commune apposuimus. Dat. in domo nostra capitulari sexto decimo die Januarii, anno regni dicti domini regis nunc Henrici octavi tricesimo primo.

Willim⁹ Boston, abbas Westm.	Johñ. Lawrēs,	Robert Barnard,
Dionisi⁹ Dalyons, prior,	Johes Forster,	Robert Chrome,
Humfrid⁹ Charite D.	Thomas Essex,	Joh. Lathbury,
Ric⁹ Morton D.	Thomas Lovewell,	Symon Underwod,
Thomas Elfryd,	Johñ Whethāsted,	Wilm. Byrd,
Wylam Elys,	Willms. Faythe,	Wylyam Latham,
John	Johān Godluck,	Wyllȳm. Huse,
Christofer. Godhaps,	Armell Hurley,	John Vernō.
William Melton,		

No. XII.

Chapter Act relating to Bishop Williams.

Whereas there hath lately been divulged, as we have heard, an unjust report, that the right honourable and right reverend father in God, the lord bishop of Lincoln our dean, should have repaired and new built our church on the north side of the same, and south side of the chapels belonging to it, out of the diet and bellies of the prebendaries, and revenues of our said church, and not out of his own revenues: We, therefore, the prebendaries and chapter of the same, with one consent do affirm, that we verily believe the same to be a false and injurious report. And for ourselves, we do testify every man under his own protestation, that we are neither the authors nor abet-

tors of any such injurious report, untruly uttered by any mean man, with intention to reflect upon his lordship. And this we do voluntarily record and witness by our Chapter Act, dated this present chapter, Decemb. 8, 1628. Theod. Price, sub-dean, Christopher Sutton, George Dayrell, Gabriel Grante, Jo. King, Rob. Newell, John Holt, Gr. Williams.

No. XIII.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for constituting and appointing a Committee of Lords and Commons, for the better ordering, directing, and disposing of the Rents, Issues, and Profits belonging to the College and Collegiate Church of Westminster.

Ordered, by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that this Ordinance be forthwith printed and published.

H. Elsynge, *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

London, printed for Edw. Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons, 2 Dec. 1645.

Die Martis 18 Novembr. 1645.

Whereas the college and collegiate church of Westminster have been heretofore governed and regulated by the dean and prebends thereof, who have taken upon them the care and charge of bringing in the rents and profits belonging thereunto, for the maintenance of the scholars of the free-school, almsmen, servants, and officers belonging to the said college and collegiate church: and forasmuch as the present dean and prebends thereof (except only Mr. Lambert Osbolston), have deserted their charge, or are become delinquents to the parliament, whereby the said college and collegiate church are destitute of government, and the said school, almsmen, servants, and officers deprived of all means of subsistence, by reason no person is appointed to take care for the same: for remedy whereof, Be it ordained by the Lords and Commons in this present parliament assembled, that the earl of Northumberland, earl of Pembroke, earl of Nottingham, earl of Denbigh, earl of Manchester, lord viscount Say and Seal, lord Willoughby, lord North, lord Mountague, lord Roberts, lord Howard; Mr. Sollicitor, Mr. Rous, Sir Walter Earl, Mr. Wheeler, Sir Robert Harley, Mr. Maynard, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Strickland, Mr. Ashurst, Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Gourdon, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Recorder, Sir William Massam, Sir Robert Pye, Sir John Trevor, Mr. Salloway, Mr. Hoyle, Sir John Dryden, Sir Henry Vane, junior, and Bulstrode Whitelock, Esq. shall be, and are hereby constituted and appointed the committee in this ordinance: and that the said committee, or any seven, or more of them, shall have the same, and the like power and authority to all intents and purposes, as any dean and prebends have, or of right ought to have had in the ordering, directing, and disposing the rents, issues, and profits belonging or in any wise appertaining to the said college, or collegiate church, and in doing and executing all other act or acts, thing or things, that any ways concern

the said college or collegiate church: provided the same extend not to the letting leases of any houses or lands belonging to the said college for above the space of three years, reserving at the least such yearly rents, profits, and services as were formerly payable out of any such lands or houses unto the said college or collegiate church. And be it farther ordained by the said Lords and Commons, that the said dean and prebends, and all other officers, members, and servants belonging to the said college or collegiate church, and every of them, that have absented themselves from their offices and places, or are delinquents, or have not taken the covenant, shall (until both houses take order to the contrary) stand and be suspended of and from their several places and offices, and of and from all manner of benefit or profit that might accrue unto them, or any of them thereby, with the arrears thereof: provided this extend not to the taking away such stipend or other allowance from the said Mr. Osbolston, as of right he hath formerly received, or ought to have received, as a prebend of the said collegiate church of Westminster. And the said committee or any seven or more of them are hereby authorized to constitute and appoint fit and able persons in the room and places of such officers and servants belonging to the said college or collegiate church, as are dead, or have deserted their said places, or are delinquents, or have not taken the covenant as aforesaid, whose offices and places they shall find necessary to be continued for the use and service of the said college. And be it farther ordained, that the said committee, or any seven or more of them, together with the master of Trinity College in Cambridge, and the master of the said school in Westminster, shall hereby have the like power to elect and chuse scholars into the said school, and thence to Trinity College in Cambridge aforesaid, and to Christ Church in Oxon, as by the statutes of the said college of Westminster was invested in the deans of Westminster and Christ Church, the masters of Trinity College and Westminster school aforesaid: provided nevertheless when the said dean or master of Christ Church aforesaid, shall not be a delinquent to the parliament, his right in the election aforesaid, according to the said statutes, shall not hereby be impeached. And the said committee, or any seven or more of them, are hereby further authorized to place poor men in such alms-places belonging to the said collegiate church, as shall from time to time become void.

And whereas the upholding of preaching in the abbey of Westminster aforesaid, upon the Lord's days, and the daily morning lecture there, is a work much tending to the glory of God, and comfort of the inhabitants of Westminster and places adjacent: Be it therefore further enacted, that the said committee, or any seven or more of them, shall have power hereby to make such allowances out of the revenues belonging to the said collegiate church, unto the ministers that have or shall perform the said service upon the Lord's days, and week days aforesaid, as they shall think fit.

And it is lastly ordered and ordained, that all and every person and persons, that shall do or perform any thing in conformity to this present ordinance, shall be saved and kept harmless by authority of both houses of parliament.

H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

No. XIV.

The Queen's Warrant for the marble Altar-piece.

ANNE R.

WHEREAS the dean and chapter of the collegiate church of St. Peter Westminster, have by their petition set forth, that there was formerly standing in a chapel at Whitehall a marble altar-piece, which was afterwards removed to our palace at Hampton Court, and has remained in the stores there unused for many years, which might be very ornamental to our said collegiate church: And have humbly prayed us to grant the same to our said collegiate church, as a lasting monument of our royal munificence to that place founded and endowed by our noble predecessors.

Which petition we having taken into our royal consideration, and being graciously pleased to grant their request, our will and pleasure is, that you cause the said marble altar-piece to be taken out of our stores at Hampton Court, and delivered to such person or persons, as shall be appointed by the dean and chapter of the said collegiate church to receive the same, in order to the putting up of the said altar-piece within the said church, in such manner as the said dean and chapter shall think fit. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at our court at St. James's, the 21st day of February, 1705-6, in the fourth year of our reign.

To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Christopher Wren, knt. Surveyor General; and the rest of the principal officers of our works. By her majesty's command,

GODOLPHIN.

No. XV.

A Memorial to his Majesty for building a new Dormitory for the King's Scholars, December 8, 1718.

THE bishop of Rochester, dean of Westminster, and the chapter of that church, humbly represent to your majesty, that queen Elizabeth of glorious memory, founded the college of Westminster, which has in all times since been highly favoured by your majesty's royal ancestors, and has bred up great numbers of men useful both in Church and State; among whom are several who have the honour at present to serve your majesty in high stations. That the dormitory of the said college is in so ruinous a condition, that it must of necessity be forthwith rebuilt; the expence of which building (besides other charges that may thereby be occasioned) will, according to the plan now humbly presented to your majesty, amount to upwards of five thousand pounds. As a foundation for the raising of this summe, a legacy has been left by one, who was a member of this college; and there is good reason to believe, that divers persons of quality, who owe their education to this place, may be disposed to favour this design, if they shall be incited by your majesty's royal example. The said bishop and chapter therefore humbly hope, that your majesty will, as an encouragement to learning, be pleased to bestow your royal bounty on this occasion, in such measure as to your majesty's high wisdom shall seem proper.

No. XVI.

Names of the Prebendaries of Westminster, from their first Establishment by King Henry the Eighth to the present Time.

First Stall.

Simon Heynes, D.D. Dec. 17, 1540 died.
Andrew Perne, D.D. Nov. 8, 1552 sur.
William Barlow, May 21, 1560
Thomas Browne, 1565
Thomas Mountford, May 26, 1585
Gabriel More, Mar. 8, 1631

Second Stall.

John Redman, Dec. 17, 1540
Alex. Nowell, Dec. 5, 1551 dep.
John Richarde, May 12, 1554 sur.
Hump. Perkins, May 21, 1560 died
John Read, 1577
Richard Wood, May 9, 1587
Henry Cæsar, Sept. 27, 1609
resigned Dec. 14, 1625.
Tho. Wilson, Jan. 10, 1625

Third Stall.

Edward Leighton, Dec. 17, 1540 res.
Edward Keble, June 15, 1547 depr.
John Baker, B.D. April 11, 1554 sur.
John Hardyman, D.D. May 21, 1560 depr.
Percival Wybarne, Nov. 23, 1561 died.
John Fox, May 6, 1606
John Wilson, D.D. Oct. 1623
Matthew Wren, D.D. Feb. 21, 1634 pro.
Rich. Steward, LL.D. Apr. 25 1638

Fourth Stall.

Anthony Belassys, Dec. 17, 1540
James Haddon, Aug. 30, 1552
Richard Alvey, Dec. 16, 1552
John Ramridge, D.D. May 12, 1554
Richard Cheney, May 21, 1560
Thomas Norley, Sept. 1563
William Wickham, Aug. 11, 1570
Robert Ramsden, June 10, 1571
William Chaderton, Dec. 17, 1575
Thomas Wagstaffe, June 22, 1580
Richard Webster Dec. 31, 1586
Richard Hakluyt, May 4, 1602
John Holt, Nov. 29, 1616
Lodow. Wemys, D.D. Feb. 5, 1630

Fifth Stall.

William Bretten, Dec. 17, 1540
Edmund Grindall, July 28, 1552
John Moreman, D.D. May 12, 1554
John Smith, Sept. 11, 1554
Richard Alvey, May 21, 1560
Thomas Aldrich, Feb. 1573
John Rugge, March 17, 1575
Nicholas Bond, March 24, 1581
William Robinson, March 5, 1607
Matthew Nicholas, June 17, 1642

Sixth Stall.

Dionysius Dalyon, Dec. 17, 1540
John Pekyns, May 3, 1543
Francis Malet, B.D. April 7, 1554
Edmund Scambler, May 21, 1560
John Beaumont, Nov. 17, 1562
Matthew Hutton, Dec. 22, 1565
Walter Jones, Nov. 17, 1567
Griffith Lewis, Nov. 1, 1577
George Darell, June 8, 1607
Peter Heylin, B.D. Nov. 9, 1631

Seventh Stall.

Humphrey Perkins, D.D.
Dec. 17, 1540
Alphonsus de Salinas, May 12, 1554
Alexander Nowell, A.M.
May 21, 1560
John Hill, B.D. Dec. 14, 1564
John Pory, A.M. Sept. 27, 1567
Thomas Aldrich, Nov. 13, 1570 depr.
John Still, D.D. 1573

Thomas Ravis, B.D. Feb. 2, 1592
Hugh Goodman, May 10, 1607
Theodore Price, D.D. July 1623
Roger Bates, D.D. Jan. 12, 1631
John Towers, D.D. April 3, 1634 pr.
Jonathan Browne, LL.D. Jan. 1638

Eighth Stall.

Thomas Essex, Dec. 17, 1540
Francis Turpin, March 3, 1542
Nicholas Rydley, D.D. Nov. 15, 1545
Hugh Griffith, July 4, 1553
Will. Latymer, A.M. May 21, 1560
Edward Bulkely, Oct. 15, 1583
William Laud, D.D. Jan 22, 1620
Griffith Williams, D.D. July 17, 1628 pr.
Benjamin Laney, D.D. Jan. 1641

Ninth Stall.

Thomas Elfride, Dec. 17, 1540
Bernard Sandyforth, Jan. 19, 1546
Henry Cole, LL.D. April 21, 1554
Richard Reve, May 21, 1560
Cuthbert Bellott, April 30, 1594
Robert Newell, 1613

Tenth Stall.

John Malverne, Dec. 17, 1540
Edm. Weston, before Aug. 5, 1542
Thomas Wood, May 12, 1554
William Downham, May 21, 1560
Edmund Freake, Sept. 23, 1564
John Younge, April 26, 1572
Christopher Sutton, April 30, 1605
Lambert Osboldstone, A.M. July, 1629
Benjamin Laney, D.D. June, 1639
Lambert Osboldstone, 1641

Eleventh Stall.

William Harvey, Dec. 7, 1540
Thomas Raynold, Feb. 1, 1544
William Yonge, May 21, 1560
John Wickham, May 21, 1578
Richard Bancrofte, July 19, 1587
Lancelot Andrews, 1597
Adrian de Saravia, July 5, 1601
Gabriel Grante, Jan. 20, 1612
William Heywood, D.D. Sept. 28, 1638

Twelfth Stall.

Gerard Carleton, Dec. 17, 1540
Giles Eyre, Aug. 3, 1549
Thomas Birkhead, Oct. 20, 1551
William Pye, May 3, 1554
Gabriel Goodman, May 21, 1560
Thomas Watts, Nov. 3, 1561
Edward Grant, A.M. May 27, 1577
William Barlowe, Dec. 3, 1601
John King, Sept. 18, 1613
George Aglionby, D.D. Sept. 28, 1638

N. B. *Since the Restoration the Prebendaries are not admitted, as before, to particular Stalls, but take place according to seniority.*

		succeeded
Henry Killgrew,	July 5, 1660	George Aglionby
John Doughty,	July 5, 1660	
Walter Jones, D.D	July 5, 1660	
Richard Busby, B.D.	July 5, 1660	
John Sudbury, D.D.	July 14, 1660	
James Lamb, A.M.	July 23, 1660	
David Mitchell, B.D.	July 25, 1660	

Francis Walsall, D.D.	Sept. 1, 1660	
Herbert Thorndike,	Sept. 5, 1661	Matthew Nicholas.
Thomas Gorges, D.D.	Oct. 16, 1661	Francis Walsall.
Thomas Triplett, D.D.	Jan. 20, 1661	John Sudbury, res.
Samuel Boulton, D.D.	April 23, 1662	David Mitchell, pro.
Charles Gibbs, D.D.	May 21, 1662	Peter Heylin, dead.
Robert South, B.D.	March 30, 1663	Benjamin Laney, pr.
George Stradling, D.D.	July 30, 1663	William Heywood, d.
Richard Perinchiefe, D.D.	Nov. 3, 1664	James Lamb, d.
Robert Boreman, D.D.	Dec. 19, 1667	Thomas Gorges, d.
Thomas Sprat, A.M.	Feb. 22, 1668	Samuel Boulton, d.
William Owtram, D.D.	July 30, 1670	Thomas Triplett, d
Nicholas Onley, D.D.	July 17, 1672	Herbert Thorndike, d.
Simon Patrick, D.D.	July 17, 1672	Walter Jones, d.
John North, A.M.	Jan. 11, 1672	John Doughty, d.
Richard Colebrand, D.D.	Sept. 2, 1673	Richard Perinchiefe, d.
Adam Littleton, D.D.	Sept. 16, 1674	Richard Colebrand, d.
Francis Durant de Breval, D.D.	Nov. 21, 1674	Robert Boreman, d.
Richard Annesley, D.D.	Sept. 20, 1679	William Owtram, d.
William Still, A.M.	Oct. 22, 1681	Charles Gibbs, d.
Edward Pelling, A.M.	May 3, 1683	John North, d.
Samuel De l'Angle, D.D.	Oct. 13, 1683	Thomas Sprat, pr.
George Berkeley, A.M.	June 13, 1687	William Sill, d.
James Sartre, A.M.	May 17, 1688	George Stradling, d.
Peter Birch, D.D.	Oct. 17, 1689	Simon Patrick, pro.
Stephen Upman, B.D.	May 16, 1691	Edward Pelling, res.
Anthony Horneck, D.D.	July 1, 1693	Samuel de l'Angle, d.
Thomas Dent,	Sept. 15, 1694	Adam Littleton, d.
William Payne, D.D.	Nov. 5, 1694	George Berkeley, d.
Richard Willis, D.D.	April 13, 1695	Richard Busby, d.
Samuel Barton,	Feb. 13, 1696	Anthony Horneck, d.
Richard Lucas, D.D.	March 5, 1696	William Payne, d.
Thomas Lynford, D.D.	April 6, 1700	Henry Killigrew, d.
Edward Gee, D.D.	Dec. 6, 1701	Richard Annesley, d.
Richard Martyn,	March 31, 1702	Richard Willis, res.
Michael Evans, A.M.	June 16, 1702	Richard Martyn, d.
Thomas Knipe, D.D.	Oct. 17, 1707	Stephen Upman, d.
Samuel Bradford, D.D.	Feb. 23, 1707	Francis Durand de Breval, d.
Lawr. Brodrick, D.D.	July 17, 1710	Peter Birch, d.
Jonathan Kimberley,	Sept. 17, 1711	Thomas Knipe, d.
Thomas Sprat, A.M.	Sept. 29, 1713	James Sartre, d.

Robert Cannon, D.D.	July 8, 1715	Richard Lucas, d.
John Watson, D.D.	Sept. 3, 1715	Samuel Barton, d.
Harry Barker, D.D.	July 21, 1716	Robert South, d.
Thomas Manningham, D.D.	May 11, 1720	Jonathan Kimberley, d.
William Craig, A.M.	June 9, 1720	Thomas Sprat, d.
Joseph Wilcocks, D.D.	March 11, 1720	William Craig, d.
John Wynne, D.D.	Feb. 15, 1721	Thomas Dent, d.
John Mandeville, D.D.	May 7, 1722	Robert Cannon, d.
John Herbert, D.D.	1723	Samuel Bradford, pr.
Edward Willes, A.M.	Aug. 26, 1724	Thomas Lynford, d.
George Ingram, A.M.	Oct. 17, 1724	Nicholas Onley, d.
Benjamin Ibbot, D.D.	Nov. 26, 1724	John Watson, d.
James Hargraves, A.M.	Feb. 5, 1724	John Mandeville, d.
Maurice Suckling, A.M.	May 5, 1725	Benjamin Ibbot, d.
Edward Aspinwall, D.D.	Nov. 13, 1729	John Herbert, d.
Scawen Kenrick, D.D.	Nov. 25, 1729	John Wynne, commend. exp.
Robert Thistlethwaite, D.D.	May 23, 1730	Edward Gee, d.
Robert Freind, D.D.	May 8, 1731	Maurice Suckling, d.
Alured Clarke, D.D.	July 7, 1731	Joseph Wilcocks, pr.
Richard Bundy, D.D.	Oct. 2, 1732	Edward Aspinwall, d.
William Barnard, A.M.	Oct. 4, 1732	Michael Evans, d.
Thomas Hayter, A.M.	Feb. 12, 1738	Richard Bundy, d.
Matthew Hutton, D.D.	May 18, 1739	Robert Thistlethwaite, res.
John Nicoll, D.D.	Oct. 6, 1740	Harry Barker, d.
Richard Bullock, D.D.	Nov. 30, 1741	James Hargraves, d.
John Hume, A.M.	June 28, 1742	Alured Clarke, d.
John Heylin, D.D.	March 21, 1742	Edward Willes, pr.
R. Hay-Drummond, A.M.	April 29, 1743	William Barnard, res.
Thomas Wilson, D.D.	Dec. 1, 1743	Matthew Hutton, pr.
William Freind, A.M.	Oct. 17, 1744	Robert Freind, res.
John Taylor, LL.D.	July 11, 1746	Lawrence Brodrick, res.
Edward Crane, LL.D.	April 9, 1748	John Hume, res.
Christopher Wilson, A.M.	May 3, 1748	Robert Drummond, pr.
Edward Townshend, A.M.	Dec. 9, 1749	Thomas Hayter, pr.
Philip Yonge, D.D.	Nov. 2, 1750	Thomas Manningham, d.

N. B. These names of the prebendaries are taken chiefly from their patents, the mandates for their instalment, or old Chapter-Books; and they are not only more than those published by Newcourt in his *Account of the Diocese of London*, or Le Neve in his *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, but also the number is considered as complete, no name wanting, and the order of succession truly noted; though there may be a few mistakes

as to the exact time of their coming in, occasioned in part by the practice which prevailed in the times of queen Elizabeth and king James I. of granting patents for the next vacancy that should happen, and not for a particular prebend actually vacant. An account of many of these persons, collected chiefly from the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, may be seen in the first volume of Newcourt, p. 923.

John Thomas	1754	Thomas Jackson	1782
Richard Cope	1754	George Pretyman	1784
John Oswald	1755	William Cleaver	1784
Thomas Greene	1756	Samuel Smith	1787
Thomas Newton	1757	*Charles Fynes*	1788
Reeve Ballard	1758	William Cole	1792
Joseph Atwell	1759	Charles Moss	1792
John Blair	1761	Thomas Hughes	1793
Joseph Hoare	1762	George William Lukin	1797
Charles Burdett	1762	*John Wheeler*	1797
Philip Lloyd	1763	*Thomas Causton*	1799
R. Fowler	1765	William Vincent	1801
William Bell	1765	Gerald Valerian Wellesley	1802
William Stockwood	1768	*John Ireland*	1802
Charles Wake	1768	*Howel Holland Edwards*	1803
Benjamin Kennicott	1770	*Joseph Allen*	1806
James Cornwallis	1770	*Lord Henry Fitz-Roy*	1807
Thomas Patrick Young	1771	*William Douglas*	1807
Thomas Marriott	1772	Walter King	1808
Nathan Wetherell	1775	*Frederick William Blomberg*	1808
Nicholas Boscawen	1777	*William Carey*	1809
Robert Clive	1778	*William Harry Edw. Bentinck*	1809
R. P. Finch	1781		

The twelve names in Italics, are the present prebendaries.

October, 1812. THOS. HIGGS.

No. XVII.

The Names and Times of the Masters of Westminster School.

HEAD MASTERS.		SECOND MASTERS.	
1540 John Adams		1540 Odnell Hayborne	1543
1543 Alexander Nowell	1553	1551 Edward Cratford	1552
1555 Nicholas Udall	1556	1556 Thomas Nott	

HEAD MASTERS.		SECOND MASTERS.	
John Passey		Richard Spencer	
at the latter end of queen Mary's, or beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, or between Nowell and Udall, viz. 1553 and 1555			
1563 John Randall		1563 . . . . . Randall	
1564 Thomas Browne	1569	1564 Thomas Alleyn	1567
1570 Francis Howlyn	1571	1568 John Prise	1571
1572 Edward Graunte	1592	1572 . . . . Frobusher	
1593 William Camden	1598	1573 John Graunte	
1599 Richard Ireland	1610	1574 Thomas Atkinson	
1610 John Wilson	1622	1575 William Camden	1593
1622 Lambert Osbolstone	1638	1593 . . . . Middleton	1610
1638 Richard Busby*	1695	1610 Thomas Hardinge	1624
1695 Thomas Knipe	1711	1624 William Pritchard	1630
1711 Robert Freind	1732	1631 John Jordan	1639
1732 John Nicoll	1753	1642 George Croyden	1643
1753 —— Markham	1764	1645 Thomas Vincent	1656
1764 —— Hinchliffe	1764	1656 Edward Bagshaw	1658
1764 —— Smith	1788	1658 Adam Littleton	1661
1788 William Vincent	1802	1661 William James	1663
1802 John Wingfield	1803	1663 Thomas Knipe	1695
1803 William Carey		1695 Michael Maittaire	1699
		1699 Robert Freind	1711
		1711 George Tollett	1713
		1714 John Nicoll	1732
		1732 James Johnson	1748
		1748 Peirson Lloyd	1771
		1771 William Vincent	1788
		1788 John Wingfield	1802
		1802 William Page	

* From the accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Margaret's Westminster.

1628.

To Richard Busby, by consent of Vestry, towards enabling him to proceed Bachelor of Arts, v l.

1631.

To Richard Busby, a King's Scholar of Westminster, towards enabling him to proceed Master of Arts at Oxon, by the consent of the Vestry, vi l. xiii s. iiii d.

Carey and Page the present Masters, October, 1812.

N. B. The foregoing names, except one or two, are taken from the accounts of the treasurers of the church, or the vouchers of those accounts, or old Chapter-Books.

No. XVIII.

Priors of Westminster.

Occurred first.		*Occurred last.*
	Robert became abbot of St. Edmundsbury	1102
between 1128 & 1134	Osbert de Clare	after 1140
	Helias, in the time of abbot Gervase de Blois	
	Hugh, made abbot of Bury	1156
	Alquinus, in the time of abbot Laurence, or between	1159 & 1175
	William Postard, elected abbot	1191
	Robert de Mulesham	
1219	Richard de Berkyng, elected abbot	1222
1246	Mauritius	1248
1253	Philip de Lewsham, elected abbot	1258
	Elyas, in the time of abbot Richard (de Ware it is supposed) or between 1258 and	1283
1291	John de Culeworth	1295
1298	William Huntyngdon	1304
1305	Reginald Hadham	1319
1325	John Wanetyng	
1344	Symon Warewyk	
1346	Symon Agmondesham	
1349	Symon Langham, became abbot the same year	
1350	Benedict de Chertsey	
1352	Nicholas Lytlyngton, abbot	1362
1362	Richard Merston, died at Avinion	1376
1382	John Wratting	1405
1407	Robert Whately	1420
1435	Nicholas Ashby, became bishop of Landaff	1440
1456	John Flete	1465
1466	Thomas Mylling, became abbot	1469
1470	John Esteney, became abbot	1474
1475	Thomas Arundel	1482
1483	Robert Essex	1490
1491	George Fascet, elected abbot	1498
1498	John Islip, elected abbot	1500
1501	William Mane	1527
1528	Thomas Jay	1535
	Dionysius Dalyon, at the dissolution	1539
	Este, between Nov. 21, 1556, and July 12,	1559

N. B. These names of the priors are taken two or three of them from printed books, and the rest from old deeds, or yearly accounts of the officers of the monastery; and though it be not a complete list of them, yet it is fuller and more exact than what has been hitherto printed.

No. XIX.

Archdeacons of Westminster.

	Richard Crokesly elected abbot	1246
1258	Thomas	
1277	A de Wycomb	1288
	Roger Bures, before	1293
1292	William de Huntyngdon	
1312	Alexander de (Persovere) Pershore	
1324	Robert	1327

1360 William de Zepeswych, Ipswich, elected abbot	1370	1554 Andrew Perne, D. D.	
1372 Thomas Pyk	1373	1560 John Hardyman, deprived	
1382 William de Colchester	1386	1561 William Latymer	1572
1388 John Stowe		1573 Richard Reve	1580
1391 John Burwell	1394	1603 Richard Hakluyt	1604
1414 William Agmondesham		1609 Christopher Sutton	1617
1467 William Wycombe		1617 Gabriel Grante	1630
1498 William Borogh	1500	1631 Thomas Mountford	

N. B. As it was not intended at first to publish the names of the archdeacons, they are not marked any farther, and some of the oldest are omitted.

No. XX.

Deans of Westminster.

Zachary Pearce	1756	Samuel Horsley	1794
John Thomas	1768	William Vincent	1802

No. XXI.

From the Niger Quaternus, folio 79.

Anno regni regis Edwardi tertii quinquagesimo primo, septimo die Junii idem dominus rex licentiam dedit abbati et conventui Westmonasterii perquirendi terras, tenementa, et redditus ad valorem quadraginta librarum per annum. Statuto, &c. ad manum mortuam, &c. non obstante . . . Et hæc licentia concessa est pro magna parte cujusdam Turris in angulo Palatii privati versus austrum una cum quadam clausura juxta Turrim prædictam ex parte occidentali infra clausum abbatiæ et solum Sancti Petri domino regi concessum . . . . Erat autem inter Turrim prædictam et murum Infirmarii, ubi nunc est clausura prædicta, via pedestris et carectaria usque ad angulum Turris, &c.

The title of this writing is,

Licentia regia data abbati Westm. perquirendi terras et tenementa ad valorem 40 *l. pro parte Turris vocatæ le Jewel-house, &c.*

No. XXII.

A Confederation between Westminster and Bury.

From the Original in the Archives.

Omnibus Sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Hugo et Willelmus divina permissione Sancti Eadmundi, et Sancti Petri de Westmo-

nasterio, abbates et eorundem locorum conventus, Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quum ex mutuo fraternæ confederationis vinculo crescit caritas et roborantur ecclesiæ. Ex communi consilio placuit et assensu nos et ecclesias nostras invicem vinciri fœdere perpetuo, eoque libentius et justius, quo Sancti regis patroni nostri specialius se dilexerunt, eosque constat veraciter fuisse consanguineos. Ut ergo alternatim ad auxilium in necessitate concurramus et consilium, et mutua defensione indempnitati nostræ prospiciamus, facta est inter nos talis conventio, videlicet quod communia sint nostra capitula, unus idemque per omnia sit conventus omni diversitate tam corporali quam spirituali seposita. Altero autem abbatum sublato de medio abbas superstes, si vocatus fuerit, ad alterum accedat monasterium, in cujus presentia novitii professionem suam faciant, munus Benedictionis ab eodem recepturi. Siquis vero ex uno conventu ad alium venerit, vel ad* convianendum directus fuerit, domestico suscipiatur affectu, et omnis ei humanitas exhibeatur, donec ordinate recesserit, vel ecclesiæ suæ consignetur ad pacem, quod tamen ei non competit, quem arguit horribile flagitium. Et si abbas alterius ecclesiæ decesserit, audito obitu suo, velut pro proprio abbate fiat servitium; si vero monachus, pro quolibet plenum tricennarium hinc inde presolvatur; et nomina hinc inde decedentium singulis annis die anniversariorum suorum in martirilogio conscribantur. Solempnitates etiam sanctorum patronorum nostrorum hinc inde cum quatuor cantoribus in cappis singulis festivitatibus suis solempniter celebrentur. Ut igitur hæc nostra statuta firma sint in perpetuum, cartas nostras sigillis nostris roboratas confecimus.

N. B. The abbot of Westminster, in this instrument, is William Humez, so that it was made between the years 1214 and 1222.

No. XXIII.

Grant of a Market by King Henry III.

Henricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, prepositis, et ministris, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse, et hac carta nostra confirmasse, dilectis nobis in Christo Richardo abbati Westmonasterii et ejusdem loci conventui, quod ipsi et successores sui imperpetuum habeant unum mercatum apud Touthull singulis septimanis per diem Lunæ, et unam feriam ibidem singulis annis per tres dies duraturam, videlicit in vigilia, in die, et in crastino beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ. Nisi mercatum illud et feria illa sint ad nocumentum vicinorum mercatorum et vicinarum feriarum. Quare volumus, et firmiter præcipimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quod prædicti abbas et conventus et successores sui imperpetuum habeant unum mercatum apud Touthull singulis septimanis per diem Lunæ, et unam feriam ibidem singulis annis per tres dies

* Sic.

duraturam, videlicet in vigilia et in die et in crastino beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad hujus modi mercatum et feriam pertinentibus. Nisi mercatum illud et feria illa sint ad nocumentum vicinorum mercatorum et vicinarum feriarum, sicut prædictum est. His testibus, Hugone de Clare comite Gloucestriæ et Hertfordiæ, Humfredo de Boun comite Herefordiæ et Essexiæ, Rogero de Mortu Mari, et aliis. Data per manum nostram apud Windesore, quinto die Novembris, anno regni nostri quadragesimo primo.

No. XXIV.

Abbot Islip's Election.

From the Original in the Archives.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo, indictione quarta, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Alexandri divina providentia papæ sexti anno nono, mensis vero Octobris die vicesimo sexto, in domo capitulari monasterii beati Petri Westmonasterii prope London. ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentis, meique notarii publici subscripti, ac venerabilium virorum magistrorum Ricardi Rawlins sacræ theologiæ professoris, Edwardi Vaughan et Willelmi Haryngton legum doctorum, testium in hac parte vocatorum et rogatorum presentia, constituti personaliter, venerabiles et religiosi viri Dompni Johannis Islip prior, presidens capituli dicti monasterii, Willelmus Lambard, Johannes Waterden infirmarius et hostiarius, Willelmus Brewood thesaurarius et cellerarius, Radulphus Langley, Willelmus Graunte refectoriarius, Johannes Holond supprior, Thomas Ely custos feretri, Ricardus Newbery subelemosinarius, Johannes Norton tertius prior, Ricardus Caston magister novitiorum et vestibularius, Willelmus Mane elemosinarius, Johannes Brice quartus prior, Willelmus Borogh archideaconus, Johannes Ashley granarius, Henricus Jones scrutator, Johannes Warde precentor, Thomas Champnay, Thomas Sall, Johannes Albon, Thomas Browne, Robertus Humfray custos capellæ beatæ Mariæ, Willelmus Grene, Christoferus Chamber, Robertus Davers succentor, Martinus Jamys, Radulphus Worsley, Radulphus Rumpnay, Thomas Gardyner, Willelmus Brent, Robertus Stanley, Thomas Elfryde, Willelmus Westmynster, Robertus London, Thomas Barton, Johannes Knoll, Willelmus Mersh, Thomas Stowell, et Willelmus Fitt, confratres et commonachi dicti monasterii, ac ordinem sancti benedicti in eodem, ut asseruerunt, expressè professi, capitulariter congregati ac capitulum sive conventum facientes, asseruerunt quod idem monasterium ad tunc per obitum bonæ memoriæ Georgii Fascet fuit abbatis solatio penitus destitutum. Dixerunt insuper, quod excellentissimus in Christo princeps dominus Henricus septimus Dei gratia rex Angliæ et Franciæ, et dominus Hiberniæ illustrissimus, eis ad eligendum futurum ipsius monasterii abbatem licensiam per suas literas patentes concessit specialem. Et consequenter post hujusmodi assertionem memoratus

prior et commonachi, ut præfertur, capitulariter congregati ac capitulum sive conventum facientes, ne præfatum monasterium gravia ac enormia præjudicia ipsius vacatione durante incurreret, diem Martis vicesimum septimum dicti mensis Octobris, ac præfatam domum capitularem cum continuatione et prorogatione dierum, horarum et locorum si oporteret faciendis, ad eligendum futurum dicti monasterii abbatem tam sibi ipsis tunc ibidem presentibus, quam etiam omnibus aliis tunc absentibus, qui in hujusmodi electionis negotio, deberent, vellent, et possent commode interesse, præfixerunt, assignaverunt, statuerunt, et limitarunt. Ac insuper omnes et singulos confratres et commonachos dicti monasterii vocem et interesse habentes in dicta electione celebranda, si qui absentes forent, ad comparendum in domo capitulari dicti monasterii dicto die Martis hora capitulari, et procedendo in hujusmodi electionis negotio usque ad finalem expeditionem ejusdem monendos et citandos fore decreverunt. Quo quidem die Martis vicesimo septimo dicti mensis Octobris, anno Domini, indictione et pontificatu prædictis, missa de Spiritu Sancto ad summum altare ecclesiæ conventualis monasterii antedicti coram confratribus et commonachis ejusdem solemniter extitit celebrata; qua finita et deinde campana ad capitulum congregandum, prout moris fuerat, pulsata, ipso eodem vicesimo sept. die mensis Oct. in præfata domo capitulari in mei notarii publici subscripti, necnon venerabilium virorum, magistrorum Ricardi Rawlyns sacræ theologiæ professoris, Ricardi Carpentar, Willelmi Haryngton, Nicolai Weste legum doctorum, et Edmundi Dudley generosi, London. commorantium, testium ad infrascripta vocatorum et rogatorum præsentia, præfati dompnus Johannes Islyp prior, presidens antedictus, ac singuli alii commonachi dicti monasterii, viz. dompnus Johannes Ramsay, Willelmus Lambard, Ricardus Charyng, Johannes Waterden, Willelmus Brewod, Radulphus Langley, Willelmus Graunte, Johannes Holond, Thomas Ely, Ricardus Newbery, Johannes Norton, Ricardus Caston, Willelmus Lokyngton, Willelmus Mane, Johannes Bryce, Willelmus Borogh, Johannes Ashley, Henricus Jonys, Johannes Warde, Thomas Champney, Thomas Sall, Johannes Albon, Thomas Browne, Robertus Humfray, Willelmus Grene, Christoferus Chamber, Robertus Davers, Martinus James, Radulphus Worslay, Radulphus Rumpnay, Willelmus Southwell, Willelmus Fenne, Thomas Gardyner, Willelmus Brent, Robertus Stanley, Thomas Elfryde, Willelmus Westminster, Robertus London, Thomas Barton, Johannes Knoll, Willelmus Mersh, Thomas Stowell, et Willelmus Fytt, capitulariter congregati fuerunt et capitulum fecerunt. Et tunc consequenter prænominatus magister Ricardus Rawlyns coram præfato priore presidente et ceteris monachis supradictis sic, ut præfertur, capitulariter congregatis solemnem ibidem fecit sermonem, cujus thema erat, *Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii, constitues eos principes.* Quo quidem sermone finito, decantatus erat tunc ibidem ympnus *Veni, Creator Spiritus* cum versiculo et oratione sequenti in hoc casu decantari consuetis. Quibus peractis lectæ fuerunt publicè tunc ibidem literæ regiæ patentes licensiam regiam, de qua supra fit mentio, in se continentes, quarum tenor sequitur, et est iste. Henricus Dei gratia, rex Angliæ et Franciæ, et dominus Hiberniæ, Dilectis sibi in Christo priori et conventui exempti monasterii nostri beati Petri Westmonasterii, salutem. Ex parte vestra nobis est humiliter supplicatum,

ut, cum ecclesia monasterii nostri prædicti per mortem bonæ memoriæ Georgii Fasset nuper abbatis ibidem sit pastoris solatio destituta, alium vobis eligendi in abbatem et pastorem loci illius, licentiam vobis concedere dignaremur. Nos supplicationibus vestris in hac parte favorabiliter inclinati licensiam illam vobis tenore præsentium duximus concedendam, Mandantes quod talem vobis eligatis in abbatem, et pastorem, qui Deo devotus, ecclesiæ vestræ necessarius, nobisque et regno nostro utilis et fidelis existat. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Wodstock, xxiii die Octobris, anno regni nostri sexto decimo.—Post quarum quidem literarum lecturam hujusmodi præfatus prior presidens ac ceteri monachi omnes et singuli, ut præfertur, capitulariter congregati venerabilem virum magistrum Edwardum Vaughan legum doctorem tunc ibidem presentem in directorem, meque Thomam Chamberleyn notarium publicum subscriptum in actorum scribam, ac prænominates venerabiles viros magistros Ricardum Rawlyns, Ricardum Carpentar, Willelmum Haryngton, Nicolaum Weste, et Edmundum Dudley in testes dicti negotii electionis futuri abbatis tunc ibidem celebrandæ nominaverunt, requisiverunt, et assumpserunt, ac secum propterea fecerunt ibidem remanere. Nominibus quoque et cognominibus omnium et singulorum ipsius monasterii monachorum in quadam scedula conscriptis, tunc ibidem publicè lectis et recitatis asseruerunt idem prior presidens et ceteri monachi sæpe dicti sic congregati, quod non erant plures jus et voces in electione hujusmodi habentes, quam fuerunt tunc ibidem capitulariter congregati. Et consequenter de mandato dictorum prioris et conventus, præconisationibus, ad ostium dictæ domus capitularis, et quicunque pretenderent se habere aliquod interesse in hujusmodi electionis negotio, tunc venirent, et, prout jura vellent, admitterentur, publicè factis, præfatus dompnus Johannes Islyp prior presidens antedictus, vice sua ac vice et nomine omnium et singulorum fratrum et monachorum prædictorum tunc ibidem, ut præmittitur, capitulum sive conventum facientium, quasdam monitionem et protestationem in scriptis redactus fecit, legit, et interposuit, sub eo qui sequitur verborum tenore. In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Johannes Islyp prior hujus monasterii sive ecclesiæ conventualis sancti Petri Westmonasterii prope Londonias ordinis sancti Benedicti ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentis, presidens istius capituli sive conventus, vice mea ac nomine omnium confratrum meorum hic capitulariter congregatorum atque capitulum sive conventum facientium, moneo omnes et singulos excommunicatos, suspensos et interdictos, ac quoscunqe alios, si qui forsan hic sint, qui de jure seu consuetudine, vel quavis alia ratione in instanti electionis negotio de futuro abbate istius monasterii Dei præsidio celebrandæ interesse non debeant, quod a domo ista capitulari et hoc nostro capitulo recedant, meque et alios confratres meos jus et voces in electione hujusmodi habentes liberè eligere permittant. Protestans omnibus modo, via, et forma melioribus quibus utilius et efficacius potero, nomine meo ac vice omnium et singulorum confratrum meorum prædictorum hic comparentium, ac jus et voces in isto electionis negotio habentium, quod non est mea vel eorum intentio sive voluntas tales admittere tanquam jus seu voces in hujusmodi electione habentes, aut procedere vel

eligere cum eisdem: ymmo volo, et vult quilibet nostrûm, quod voces talium si quæ postmodum reperiantur, quod absit, in electione hujusmodi intervenisse, nulli præstent suffragium, nec afferant alicui nocumentum, sed prorsus pro non receptis et non habitis, nullisque penitus et invalidis omnino habeantur.—Quibus quidem monitione et protestatione sic factis lectis et interpositis (præfatoque priore presidente, ac ceteris monachis supradictis, sic ut præmittitur, in eadem domo capitulari capitulariter congregatis, ac directore prænominato, meque notario et testibus proxime antelatis in dicta domo, solummodo remanentibus) prenominatus venerabilis vir magister Edwardus Vaughan director prescriptus, constitutionem concilii *(Quapropter)* publicè legit et electionum formas a jure traditas, et in eadem constitutione contentas publicè exposuit et declaravit: qua lecta et declarata, interrogavit idem director prænominatos priorem et conventum per quam viam in hujusmodi electione procedere vellent: qui responderunt, quod eis omnibus et singulis per viam Spiritus Sancti in eodem electionis negotio procedere placuit et placere deberet. Et continuo præfatus dompnus Willelmus Lambard a loco suo se erigens et stans coram prælibatis directore et presidente publicè nominavit dompnum Johannem Islyp in abbatem. Quo facto omnes et singuli fratres et monachi supra specificati tunc ibidem, ut sæpe dicitur, capitulariter congregati, prænominato fratre Johanne Islyp duntaxat excepto, nullo ipsorum discrepante, subito et repente absque aliquo intervallo seu tractatu inter eos præhabito, aut aliquo alio actu interveniente, Spiritus Sancti gratia, ut firmiter creditur, inspirante unico contextu, una voce, et, ut apparuit, uno spiritu eundem fratrem Johannem Islyp priorem, presidentem antedictum ipsorum et dicti monasterii abbatem eligendum concorditer et unanimiter nominarunt, et incontinenti tunc ibidem dompnus Willelmus Lambard supranotatus de expresso consensu omnium et singulorum fratrum suorum monachorum præfatorum præterquam dicti dompni Johannis Islyp, electionem de eodem dompno Johanne publicè fecit; et ipsum dompnum Johannem in abbatem dicti monasterii in scriptis publicè elegit solemniter in communi sub hac forma verborum: In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Ego frater Willelmus Lambard monachus istius monasterii sive ecclesiæ conventualis sancti Petri Westmonasterii prope Londonias ordinis sancti Benedicti, ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentis, vice mea ac vice et mandato omnium et singulorum confratrum meorum ejusdem monasterii in instanti electione comparentium ac jus et voces in eadem habentium præterquam fratris Johannes Islyp prioris presidentis, eundem fratrem Johannem Islyp virum utique providum et discretum, literarum scientia, vita et moribus merito commendandum in ordine sacerdotali, et ætate legitima constitutum, ordinem et regulam in eodem monasterio expressè professum, de legitimo etiam matrimonio procreatum, in spiritualibus et temporalibus plurimum circumspectum, scientem, et valentem jura dicti monasterii utiliter tueri et defendere, eligo in abbatem dicti monasterii sancti Petri Westmonasterii hic publicè in communi, et eidem monasterio provideo de eodem. Qua quidem electione in communi sic facta prænominatus dompnus Johannes Holond supprior ac ceteri fratres et monachi omnes et singuli supradicti (prælibato dompno Johanne Islyp electo duntaxat excepto) dederunt et con-

cesserunt memorato magistro Edwardo Vaughan legum doctori, electionis hujusmodi directori, plenam potestatem electionem prædictam de præfato dompno Johanne Islyp, ut præasseritur, factam et celebratam clero et populo in communi publicandi. Post cujus quidem potestatis dationem et concessionem omnes et singuli monachi superius recitati, sic ut præfertur, tunc ibidem capitulariter congregati (dicto dompno Johanne Islyp electo tantummodo excepto) ympnum *Te Deum laudamus* decantantes eundem dompnum Johannem sic electum ad et in ecclesiam conventualem monasterii prædicti et ad summum altare ejusdem duci fecerunt, ubi consequenter hujusmodi ympno cum oratione sequenti in hoc casu consuetis decantatis, supradictus magister Edwardus Vaughan, stans per dictum electum ante altare hujusmodi una cum ceteris eligentibus præfatis, in mei notarii publici subscripti necnon testium supra scriptorum presentia, electionem prædictam clero et populo inibi congregato alta et intelligibili voce publicavit et personam dicti dompni Johannis electi eis in publico ostendebat. Subsequenter vero post præmissa sic peracta dictus dompnus Johannes Holond supprior et ceteri monachi supradicti, omnes et singuli (dicto dompno Johanne Islyp electo duntaxat excepto) ad domum capitularem supradictam redeuntes et in illa capitulariter congregati et capitulum facientes, in mei notarii publici subscripti et testium superius nominatorum presentia, dompnos Willelmum Lambard et Ricardum Charyng monachos supradictos, ipsis tamen duntaxat exceptis, conjunctim et divisim ac utrumque ipsorum per se et in solidum, ita quod non sit melior conditio occupantis, sed quod unus eorum inceperit, id eorum alter libere prosequi valeat, mediare et finire, suos veros et legitimos ad infra scripta ordinarunt, fecerunt et constituerunt procuratores, actores, factores et nuncios speciales, dantes et concedentes eisdem procuratoribus suis conjunctim, et eorum utrique, ut præfertur, divisim, et in solidum potestatem generalem, et mandatum speciale pro ipsis constituentibus et eorum nominibus prænarrato dompno Johanni Islyp electo electionem de ipso, ut præmittitur, celebratam presentandi, notificandi, et intimandi, ac eundem, quatenus electioni hujusmodi de se factæ consentiat ac suos consensum pariter et assensum præbeat et adhibeat, rogandi et requirendi, consensumque et assensum hujusmodi petendi et obtinendi, ceteraque omnia et singula in ea parte necessaria, requisita sive opportuna, faciendi, exercendi, et expediendi. Promiserunt quoque se ratum et gratum habituros totum et quicquid dicti procuratores sui fecerint, seu alter eorum fecerit, in præmissis vel aliquo præmissorum, Quam quidem potestatem procuratoriam sic datam dicti dompni Willelmus Lambard et Ricardus Charyng ibidem presentes in se expresse acceptarunt: et assumptis secum me notario publico subscripto, necnon venerabilibus viris magistro Ricardo Rawlyns et Nicholao Weste testibus suprascriptis ad dictum electum in quadam parlurâ habitationis prioralis dicti monasterii tunc existentem accesserunt, ac nomine procuratorio dictorum constituentium electionem præfatam de ipso dompno Johanne in ea parte factam eidem dompno Johanni electo presentarunt et intimarunt, ac eundem electum ad consentiendum electioni hujusmodi de se factæ instanter rogarunt et requisiverunt. Idem vero dompnus Johannes electus electioni hujusmodi de se factæ consentire pro certis causis per eum tunc ibidem expositis recusavit, et eos-

dem procuratores et omnes fratres suos quatenus alium magis idoneum eligerent instanter rogavit, sese tanta dignitate indignum asserendo, dicti tamen procuratores ejus assertionibus non contenti eundem electum magis assidue institerunt: et eum nomine suo et nomine præfatorum constituentium cum instantiâ non modicâ denuo rogarunt et requisiverunt, ut electioni hujusmodi de ipso, ut præmittitur, factæ annueret et consentiret. Et demum idem dompnus Johannes Islyp electus antedictus, licet multipliciter se excusans, tamen dictorum dompnorum Willelmi et Ricardi procuratorum prædictorum post plurimas eorum exhortationes et requisitiones instantia devictus, ac non audens divinæ, ut asseruit, ulterius resistere voluntati, electioni hujusmodi de se factæ benigne consentiit, suosque consensum pariter et assensum in ea parte in scriptis præbuit (sub hac quæ sequitur verborum forma). In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Johannes Islyp monachus monasterii sancti Petri Westmonasterii prope London. ordinis Sancti Benedicti ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentis, ipsumque ordinem atque regulam ejusdem Sancti Benedicti in eodem monasterio expresse professus, et in ordine sacerdotali constitutus, in abbatem que ejusdem monasterii canonicè electus, nolens divinæ resistere voluntati, ad requisitionem instantem capituli seu conventus dicti monasterii, et procuratorum eorundem, ad honorem Dei omnipotentis, et beatæ Mariæ Virginis, ac Sancti Petri patroni dicti monasterii, necnon gloriosi confessoris Sancti Edwardi regis, electioni hujusmodi de me factæ consentio, et consensum meum præbeo in hiis scriptis. Acta fuerunt hæc omnia et singula, prout suprascribuntur et recitantur, sub anno domini, indictione, pontificatu, mense, diebus, et locis prædictis. Presentibus in forma superius annotata testibus superius nominatis, ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et ego Thomas Chamberleyn clericus Lincolniensis diocesis, publicus auctoritate apostolica notarius, præmissis, &c.

No. XXV.

*Ancient Custom of offering Salmon in the Church of Westminster**.

This custom is detailed at great length by *Sporley* in a manuscript preserved in the Cotton Library†, with all the proofs necessary to establish the right claimed by this church to the tythe of all salmon taken in the river Thames, between Staines and Yenlade, beyond Gravesend‡, which was frequently resisted by the parishes bordering on that river. He states, that the following ceremony was used at the offering of these tythe fish:—

" The salmon, after being offered at the high altar, was carried into the kitchen, " and, being scraped and cleaned, the sacristan (having delivered to the fisherman a " candle of one pound, and to two of his companions, if there are two, a candle each of

* See p. 7.

† Claudius, A.

‡ This is the precise extent of the privilege of conservacy possessed by the city of London.

" half a pound weight), in lieu thereof, demanded of the cook the head of the fish, and " as much below the gills as the breadth of three fingers, being extended. When the " fish was boiled, it was carried in a dish to the table in the middle of the refectory, " to which the prior and the convent rose. This day the fishermen had a right to dine " at the same table with the prior and convent, and might demand of the cellarer ale " and bread, for which the cellarer might demand as much as four fingers, with the " thumb erect, could take of the said fish's tail."

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